

# THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 15.]

WEDNESDAY, JULY 15TH, 1840.

[PRICE THREE PENCE.]

## TO THE BRITISH AND IRISH ANTI-SLAVERY DELEGATES.

GENTLEMEN—Allow me, who have been one of your silent companions during the sittings of the recent Anti-slavery convention, to call your attention to a subject to which I felt then much inclined to advert, had a suitable opportunity presented itself; but more mature deliberation has suggested the propriety of thus committing the same to your cooler consideration, now that you have retired to your respective homes.

We were more than once reminded we were met to do. Let us silent ones consider that we must go home and do, for there is much to be done. Let us remember there is a place for us all, if we are disposed to occupy it, and that it is not in the power of one man, or of one class of men, to move the ponderous machine. It is by the division of labour that our great end is to be attained. We must one and all put our shoulders to the wheel, and not expect all the work to be done by those who are now standing forth as our champions, in that apparently paradoxical position of waging a peaceful warfare against the twin abominations of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. Let us bear in mind we cannot carry the paradox into the financial department. We cannot carry on the war, my friends, without considerable cost; it is then in providing the sinews of this war. That many of us who have hitherto been drones in the hive may become industrious bees.

With this view I would invite your attention to the list of recorded delegates, upwards of five hundred in number; from which suppose we deduct one hundred as foreigners, who may have sufficient to occupy their financial abilities in their native land. To the remaining four hundred I would then say—consider yourselves each pledged during the ensuing year to raise amongst your friends annual subscriptions to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society to the amount of ten pounds; this you will readily perceive will produce an income of £4000 per annum, which I doubt not they will find ample means of disbursing in carrying out their mighty object.

You may, perhaps, consider that I have gone too far; but experience has proved to me that in such matters we know not our own strength until we exercise it, in fact. It is only to set about it in right earnest, and say we will raise such a sum, and our hopes will be more than realised; every success will only stimulate to redoubled exertion.

A query may naturally arise in the mind of the reader, whether the writer has acted on the advice he gives to others; and as I do not intend this to be any other than an anonymous communication, I may reply in the affirmative without incurring the charge of egotism. A year ago I determined on the plan alluded to, with the intention of raising ten guineas annual subscriptions to the funds of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, and very soon succeeded to my fullest expectations, and have since doubled, and I humbly trust have not done yet.

I remain, gentlemen, yours truly,

A. B.

July 6th, 1840.

## EMPLOYMENT OF BRITISH CAPITAL IN THE SLAVE-TRADE.

[From the Proceedings of the Convention.]

The committee appointed to inquire,

1.—Whether manacles for slaves are manufactured in this country.

2.—Whether large quantities of inferior fire-arms are manufactured in Great Britain, to be sold to the Africans for their slave-wars.

3.—Whether cotton goods of a particular fabric, and to a large amount, are manufactured in this country, with the sole intention of being used in barter for African slaves.

4.—Whether persons in England hold shares in Brazilian or other mines which are worked by slaves.

5.—Whether any British Joint Stock Banks have branch establishments in countries in which the slave-trade prevails—and,

6.—What are the quantities of gunpowder exported from any port or ports in Great Britain to Africa and other parts of the world respectively; and to report thereon.

REPORT AS FOLLOWS.

1.—The committee are credibly informed that, previously

to the year 1838, negro collars and manacles were manufactured in Birmingham so openly, that the dealers in those articles publicly announced them in their shop bills and invoices of sale; and that the same articles are still manufactured there with but a small measure of concealment. They have it also upon indisputable evidence, that the casks of shackles which are continually seen passing through the custom house at Havanna, in the island of Cuba, are universally held and reputed in that island to be of British manufacture.

2.—With respect to the manufacture in Great Britain of fire-arms for the African slave-wars, although the fact seems to be notorious, the committee have not been able to obtain any specific information. Fire-arms of British manufacture are positively stated to be among the articles constantly on sale in Cuba for the purpose of the slave-trade.

3.—Of equal notoriety is the asserted fact that there are cotton fabrics of a peculiar kind adapted exclusively to be used in the purchase of slaves, and that these fabrics are manufactured extensively at Manchester and Glasgow. The value of the exports in this department from British warehouses is asserted to be not less than half a million sterling annually.

4.—The Mining Companies in action in Brazil, are six, and in Cuba, three. In whole or in part the mines are all wrought by slave labour, and the committee have been able to ascertain that the entire number of slaves employed in them is no less than 3325. Of these, 415 are employed by the Brazilian Imperial Company, and 441 by the Cata Branca; and this number, however large, cannot exceed the average employed by the companies respectively. There can be no doubt but these companies are to a great extent actual holders of slaves. A recent balance sheet of one of them presents the fearful item of £45,000, as cost incurred for "live stock." This would be sufficiently painful if it were to be supposed only that in this item, men, women, and children were indiscriminately mixed with the beasts of burden; but it has been ascertained that, in the practice of this company, all brute help is hired, so that the whole of this sum of £45,000 has been laid out in the purchase of slaves. It is perfectly notorious that the great majority of shareholders in these mining associations, are British subjects.

5.—Among the British Joint Stock Banks there is one which has extended its business where the slave-trade prevails. The Colonial Bank has for some time had a branch at Porto Rico, and has been making strenuous efforts to establish another at Havanna.

6.—To ascertain the quantity of gunpowder exported from the various ports of Great Britain to Africa and to other parts of the world respectively, although not difficult, requires more time than it has been competent to the committee to employ. They have been put into possession, however, of a document extracted from official sources at Liverpool, by which it appears that in the year 1839 there were shipped from that port 19,369 barrels of gunpowder; of which 17,581 barrels were shipped to Africa, and 681 barrels to Brazil, Pernambuco, Bahia, and Maranhão; while to all other parts there were sent only 1106 barrels. In this respect Liverpool may probably be taken with safety as a sample of the British ports in general.

The Committee thus arrive at the revolting and melancholy fact, that, notwithstanding the costly endeavours of the British Government and the unwearied efforts of British philanthropy to extinguish the slave-trade, British hands and British capital are yet employed in forging the instruments and nourishing the sinews of it. The value of British goods, including cotton fabrics, muskets, gunpowder, shackles, &c., annually sold to be employed in the slave-trade in Cuba alone, is stated to amount to £200,000 sterling.

Although beyond the immediate limits of their inquiries, the committee beg permission further to state, that British subjects resident abroad are not unfrequently compelled, as claimants on bankrupts' estates, to receive and hold shares in slave-ships, and that they are found too often voluntarily to enter more or less deeply into slave-trading speculations. It is even affirmed by Mr. Turnbull in his recent work, "that there are men of large capital at this hour resident in London, and in the full enjoyment of the rights and franchises of Englishmen, who do not scruple to enrich themselves under cover of a foreign partnership, by supplying the actual slave-dealer with the means of carrying on his ruthless war of extermination against the African race." He speaks of it also as a fact, within his knowledge, that other persons "to all intents and purposes, British subjects," and resident in this metropolis, not content with risking their money to secure a high rate of interest, have actually stipulated on becoming sleeping



partners in one of the most notorious slavinghous at the Havana."

The committee cannot better express their sentiments after this affecting recital, than in the words of the writer they have just quoted.—

"These, it must be admitted, are grievous blots on the national escutcheon. As long as a single vestige of them remains, to justify either the taunts of our enemies or the honest regrets of our friends, we can never afford to sit down with tranquillity or composure under the disgraceful imputation. Every man of us is bound to exert himself in the cause as if his personal reputation were at stake. From all this pollution there is but one way of escape. It is by the suppression of the trade, finally, absolutely, irretrievably."

The committee recommend the adoption of the resolutions annexed; and trust the important inquiries referred to them will be further prosecuted by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Resolutions adopted by the Convention:—

That this Convention learns, with profound regret, that there are British subjects who render immediate support to the slave-trade—some by supplying the articles necessary for conducting it—some by furnishing as bankers, the capital employed in it—some by holding shares in mining associations, the purchasers of the victims of the traffic; and some even by actual manufacture and exportation of the arms and manacles employed in the abduction of these victims.

That the employment of British subjects, and British capital, directly or indirectly, in support of slavery or the slave-trade, is not only deeply to be deplored, but strongly to be reprobated, inasmuch as it involves a grave moral responsibility—a flagrant dishonour to the British name, and an outrageous inconsistency with the avowed desire, the strenuous endeavours, and the costly sacrifices of Great Britain, for the suppression thereof.

That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society be requested to consider the propriety of remonstrating in a spirit of kindness and firmness, with the directors and shareholders of any British companies, having establishments in countries, where slavery or the slave-trade is carried on, with reference to the tendency and effect of their operations in those places, and of the employment of British capital, in directly or indirectly sustaining the slave-trade.

#### ADDRESS OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

*To the Friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause throughout the United States and the World.*

THE American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was organized in the city of New-York, by about three hundred members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, on the 15th of May, 1840. Many of you are familiar with the history of the peculiar difficulties which have embarrassed the anti-slavery cause in the state of Massachusetts during the last two years; and the efforts which were made, a year ago, in the business-meetings of the American society in this city, to procure the sanction of that institution to the new sectarian views with respect to the part which it was assumed that females had a right to take in those meetings. Though those efforts were partly successful at the anniversary meeting in 1839, it was nevertheless hoped that time would relieve the cause of the down-trodden slave of this extraneous burden, and convince those who had introduced this difficulty into our meetings of the great injury which it must inevitably inflict on the cause we all profess to love. Our confidence in the integrity of those who had engaged with us in the momentous struggle against slavery led us to hope, that whatever might be the *private* opinions of individuals as to the inherent sinfulness of human government, and the sphere in which females ought to act, yet, that the American society could never be identified with these views, or that its official sanction could by no means be obtained to principles so evidently foreign to anything contemplated or set forth in its Constitution. And, especially, as these new views were confined principally within the limits of the single state of Massachusetts, many were not prepared to believe, that their advocates could possibly gain a sufficient number in our ranks to carry the National Society in their favour, even should they be disposed to do so. That they should have done so at the late annual meeting in this city, is to be accounted for by the fact that the National Society is not a representative body. Hence it will be easily seen, that a *party* in such a society having any peculiar object to gain, could command every desirable facility for carrying their purpose, however foreign it might be to the original design and practice of those who originated the American Anti-Slavery Society.

It is well known that the convention which formed that association was composed of men only, and that it was not at first a mixed society of men and women. And it is equally well known, that it was then designed and understood that its business should be conducted by men *as is usual in the other benevolent societies of the age*; while, at the same time, it was expected and desired that females should form auxiliaries, in the usual way, to the Parent Institution. And this interpretation of the constitution, and the consequent practice, continued for six years, up to the annual meeting in 1839, without the least interruption. Hence it

is evident, that those of our numbers who have recently assumed to bring females into the business-meetings to vote and speak, and also that they should be appointed *officers* of the society, as they were at the late annual meeting, are responsible for the difficulty which has produced division in this society. It is true, the fourth article of the Constitution says, that "any person," who consents to its principles, &c., may become a member of the society, and be entitled to vote at its meetings. But, that this provision was not designed to signify anything more than is implied in similar provisions in the constitutions of the other benevolent societies of the day, is proved.

1. From the understanding of those who took a part in forming the society in 1833. No one then assumed, that the word "person" was to be understood out of the common way of interpreting constitutions.

2. From the uniform practice of the American Anti-Slavery Society, for six years from the time when it was organised.

3. From the manifest absurdity of the contrary doctrine. For, if the word "person" in the Constitution is to have the indiscriminate application contended for, then it must of course, include, not only women, but *children* also, thousands of whom have been in the habit of contributing to the funds of the society.

It would, perhaps, be a sufficient refutation of this new interpretation of the word "person" in the Constitution to know, that at the convention in 1833, which formed the society, two or three women, members of the Society of Friends, were present, with other female spectators, and asked permission to offer a few remarks, and leave was accordingly granted. Agreeably to the recommendation of that convention, separate female societies were extensively formed; thus proving that no one originally claimed it as a right that females should debate in the public meetings, and much less that they should be appointed officers of the society. And yet, in view of all these well known facts, at the recent meeting of the society the acting president nominated a woman on the business-committee, associated with eleven men. On a division of the house on the question of her appointment, it appeared that 1008 members were present and voted; of whom 557 voted in her favour, and 451 in the negative, being a majority of 106 in her favour. Had the men only voted in this case, the decision would have been reversed. This was considered a test vote of the relative strength of the "woman's rights" and constitutional parties, assembled; and it was believed that the act of placing a woman on the business-committee was merely an initiatory step to the introduction of other measures, foreign to the original principles and designs of the Anti-slavery enterprise, all tending to divert the minds of abolitionists from the cause of the slave, and the rights of the free people of colour. It was thought that it would be in vain to attempt a reversal of this decision, or to expect a change for the better; that meetings thus constituted would not consent to alterations of the constitution defining the word "person" to mean men, or to substitute a representative system for the usual collection of members in a disproportionate number from one locality, thus leaving the door open (as was done this year) for a packed delegation; that persons of such different moral affinities could not advantageously labour together; and that providence seemed to indicate that it was a duty, for peace sake, as well as for other considerations, to separate from those who seemed to be rendering the anti-slavery cause an object of dislike to a large number of influential and excellent citizens. Several men, nominated to serve on the business-committee, immediately declined serving, in consequence of the act of the majority, and others afterwards withdrew. They stated that the innovation seemed to them repugnant to the constitution of the society—that it was throwing a fire-brand into anti-slavery meetings—that it was contrary to the usages of the civilised world—and that it tended to destroy the efficiency of female anti-slavery action.

But the question of "woman's rights" is not the only matter of difference between the adherents to the old society, and the friends of the new association; nor is it the chief cause of the difficulty, though it happened to come up first and prominently at the late annual meeting. At the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society the lawfulness of human government was recognized, and it was a fundamental principle, that political action was both expedient and proper. Recently, however, the same persons belonging to the anti-slavery ranks who are contending for what they call "woman's rights"—the civil and political equality of women with men—deny the obligation of forming, supporting, or yielding obedience to civil government, and refuse to affirm the *duty* of political action; and they contrived to bring to the late annual meeting of the society a sufficient number of men and women to compose a majority of all the members present, to sustain their views and measures. Of the whole number present this year, *four hundred and sixty-four* were from the single state of Massachusetts! Styling themselves "non-resistants," and professing to be opposed to all physical force, either of offence or defence, but not disclaiming in theory or practice the use of the tongue and pen as weapons—weapons that often inflict wounds as really as any other weapons could do—with which to assail those who are for maintaining the primitive objects of the society, they seem determined to carry forward their favourite theories and practices at all events, even if the great moral enterprise in which they and we originally embarked should retrograde, and be justly offensive to those who might otherwise join the Anti-slavery ranks, and help on the cause of impartial liberty to a glorious consummation. We wish for the support of every good man, and we wish all to understand distinctly that it will be no part of our



design to break up existing organizations in church or state, but only to wake up and give impetus to the usual forms of social action; and one special object will be, by light and love, to secure appropriate church action in the several religious connexions. With regard to political action, while we recognise the rightfulness of government, and shall urge political action as a duty, we shall not go as a society with the machinery of party political arrangements, but leave that for the action of individual citizens. Neither shall we denounce those as recreants who may differ from us in regard to the *best mode* of such action. It will also be our endeavour to promote the "equal security, protection and improvement of the people of colour," a duty that has been greatly neglected—to which we have not sufficiently attended—and which should be a leading object with every Anti-Slavery Association.

On the evening of May 13th, a preliminary meeting was held of some of those who were dissatisfied with the recent action of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to consider the subject of forming a new association, as reconciliation, or a change of policy, or a suitable amendment of the Constitution, appeared to be impracticable. And after prayerful consideration, it was unanimously resolved, that it is best to separate from the old society, and to organize a new association on the same great fundamental principles, with enlarged objects—and for this purpose to call a meeting of those who voted in the minority. On the next day a general meeting was notified, and numerous attended. About three hundred members of the American Anti-Slavery Society enrolled their names, and organized a convention, which held its session during three days. A draft of a constitution was reported by a committee, its provisions fully discussed, and the same was finally adopted with great unanimity. Officers were then chosen. This constitution is now submitted to the abolitionists of the United States and of the world, in the hope that individuals will become members, and auxiliary societies will be formed in towns, counties, and states. It will be seen that the constitution contemplates enlarged action with reference to the slave-trade, and especially co-ordinate action with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. This was a prominent motive in assuming the designation of the new society. We wish to embrace within our operations the cause of the enslaved throughout the world, and to co-operate with our brethren in Great Britain, France, &c., in wise and judicious plans for the abolition of the slave-trade, and the system that produces it.

Donations, for general or specific objects, are earnestly solicited, and can be sent by mail or otherwise, directed to Lewis Tappan, Treasurer, at 131, Nassau; or 122, Pearl-street.

Let it not be imagined that the society has any desire to wage war upon any other association. Far from it. It has been a source of grief to the true friends of the slave—and of exultation to the enemies of human rights—to see a denunciatory spirit towards brethren engaged in the sublime cause of emancipation, and to witness those who, formerly endured unjustly so much reproach together estranged, or hostile. But our objects, being simply the peaceful deliverance of the slave and the restoration of our fellow-citizens of colour to the same rights and privileges with the rest of the community, do not require the adoption of any such policy. An enforced uniformity of action, a subjugation of the wide spread anti-slavery hosts to the decrees of one central power, a necessity to follow the footsteps of any earthly leader, or to spend our breath in glorifying any man of like passions with ourselves, form no part of our plan of operations. So far as our own conduct can influence the future, the two divisions of the anti-slavery body will henceforth plead the cause of the slave without criminating or recriminating each other; both will labour for the speedy and peaceful triumph of humanity and freedom; and God, and not man, will receive all the glory of the universal triumph of liberty. Should this, happily, be the case, all concerned may hereafter look back upon the circumstances that brought about a separation with devout gratitude, as an occurrence that accelerated the progress of the cause. Let the eyes of all be directed to those great systems of iniquity for the extinction of which we have associated together, beseeching the God of all grace to smile upon our efforts, and crown them with His blessing. Such was the spirit of the convention that originated the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

In conclusion, the Committee recommend the observance of the Monthly Concert of Prayer for the enslaved and free people of colour, on the last Monday evening of every month—the practice of remembering the slave and the victims of caste in the closet, at the family altar, in the social circle, and in the sanctuaries of the Most High. They urge upon abolitionists throughout the land to organise themselves into efficient auxiliary societies, to form anti-slavery depositories, to scatter anti-slavery publications, to collect and transmit funds to the treasury, and, in a spirit of christian boldness, tenderness, and fidelity, to arouse the conscience and sympathy of the people on behalf of their down-trodden and insulted fellow-men. The committee earnestly request the prayers of christian abolitionists, that they may have wisdom from above, profitable to direct, and they invite all their fellow-citizens who pity the enslaved, who desire to promote the best interests of the slave-holder, who love their country, who respect the rights of man, and reverence the law of God, to unite with the society in the great work of bringing about the extinction of the slave-trade, and slavery, in this land and throughout the world.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, President.

S. W. BENEDICT, Recording Secretary.

We present a list of the officers of the society for the current year.

*President.*

ARTHUR TAPPAN, New York.

*Vice Presidents.*

F. J. LE MOYNE, M. D. Pennsylvania.

JOHN T. NORTON, Connecticut.

*Secretaries.*

JAMES G. BIRNEY, New York.

HENRY B. STANTON, New York.

*Treasurer.*

LEWIS TAPPAN, New York.

*Executive Committee.*

Arthur Tappan, New York.	Jonathan Curtis, Pittsfield, Ohio.
J. G. Birney, do.	C. L. Knapp, Montpelier, Vt.
S. W. Benedict, do.	George Storrs, do.
S. S. Jocelyn, do.	William Jackson, Newton, Mass.
Theo. S. Wright, do.	J. G. Whittier, Amesbury, do.
L. R. Sunderland, do.	George Putnam, Boston, do.
Wm. Church, do.	Orange Scott, Lowell, do.
H. B. Stanton, do.	J. S. Eddy, Providence, R. Island.
Lewis Tappan, do.	J. Chapin, do.
Wm. Smyth, Brunswick, Maine.	J. G. Baldwin, Middletown, Conn.
Calvin Newton, Thomaston, do.	S. Deming, Farmington, do.
J. Perkins, New Hampshire.	A. G. Beman, New Haven, do.
Gerrit Smith, Peterboro' N. York.	Wm. H. Brisbane, Cincinnati, O.
Wm. Jay, Bedford, do.	J. P. Cleveland, Marshall, Mich.
Joshua Leavitt, Bloomfield, N. J.	Charles Hastings, Detroit, do.
Samuel Aaron, Burlington, do.	William Twining, Indiana.
S. E. Cornish, Newark, do.	Edw. Beecher, Jacksonville, Ill.
Albert L. Post, Montrose, Penn.	David Nelson, Quincy, do.
Thos. Morris, Cincinnati, Ohio.	Samuel F. Phenix, Wis. Ter'y.

THE ALLEGED DEFICIENCY OF LABOUR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

SIR,—The clamour which the West India planters and their advocates both in this country and the colonies, are industriously making on the subjects of labour and wages, for the purpose of imposing upon the government, and winning them over to their designs upon the liberties of the emancipated classes, deserves more than a passing notice from abolitionists, and especially those who are immediately interested, as I confess I am, in the well-being of those classes, and the prosperity of the colonies. The high price of sugar in the market at this moment, affords these clamourers a favourable opportunity, as they think, to put off their wicked misrepresentations upon the injured consumers; and statements are now boldly made, which, in other circumstances, the most reckless of the party would scarcely have ventured upon in public. Will British consumers, sir, in addition to their present wrongs, submit to be made the gullied instruments of these unprincipled men, for the effecting of their designs upon the poor oppressed negro? I trust not! What I have seen of the British people convinces me that all their sympathies are enlisted in the anti-slavery cause; and they only require to be made acquainted with the real state of things in the colonies at this moment, to be wholly with us in the good work of securing, on a permanent basis, the liberty which they have purchased for their black brother. With us lies the obligation to bring before them this real state,—it is our duty to correctly inform them at every turning; and if we neglect this duty, we shall be responsible for any damage which our cause shall sustain in consequence.

In the city article of the *Times* of Friday last, I read certain statements, said to be from the letter of a correspondent. Grosser falsehoods I have seldom seen even from the pen of a pro-slavery advocate! Amongst others, the planters were said not to be deriving one per cent on their capital, nine-tenths of the estates were not clearing their current expenditure, wages had been doubled since the time of the apprenticeship, and the majority of the freed men had become hucksters and small shop-keepers. The story was wound up, as usual, with the demand for immigration, as the only thing to save the colonies from ruin. I sent the *Times*, in the afternoon of the same day, a brief notice of these falsehoods, with a statement of the facts of the case, and a challenge to its correspondent, to meet me either in public print, or before any assembly on the subject. No notice has been taken of my communication, although subscribed with my real name and address, and the falsehoods are honestly left, by the editor, to run their course upon the public.

"It is," sir, as was stated in a leading article of the *Patriot* a few days ago, "the most impudent fallacy imaginable, to represent the price of sugar at the present moment as having any connexion with the rate of wages in the colonies." The true causes of "the shortness of the supply," to which the present price is to be attributed, are, as stated in that paper, the bad "seasons" and "the disputes between the planters and the labourers"—or, more accurately, the unremitting, dishonest attempts of the planters to coerce the labourers in direct contravention of the abolition act. I shall confine myself, in this communication, to show the extent to which these two causes have operated to produce the present short supply of sugar in the market, and its consequent high price; and I would earnestly entreat your readers, each in his proper station, to exert their entire influence for the removal of the one which is in man's power.

I would observe, in the first place, that the falling off in the crops, since emancipation, has not been general throughout the colonies. It is confined to a few; and in those it has not been shared equally amongst the proprietors of estates. Some of these have escaped it altogether, and made excellent crops, whilst their neighbours have been lamenting over very deficient ones. In Barbados, the crops, since the abolition of slavery in 1834, and until the present year's, have greatly exceeded the average of the preceding ten years of slavery. I have been unable to obtain the statistics in the colony, but the planters themselves usually state this average, in round numbers, at 23,000 hogsheads. The crop of last year, the first of free labour, has been stated at 30,000—being a deficiency, as compared with the average of the two preceding years, of



more than 2000 hogsheads, caused by the severe drought, which just then began to be felt. That drought, the severest that had been, for many years, experienced in the island, lay upon the land, scorched vegetation to its source, from the planting of the present crop to its reaping. This crop will scarcely realise more than 15,000 hogsheads. The planters, in the island, universally admit that this immense falling off has been caused by the drought; and the governor in his opening speech to the legislature, in November last, refers to this, on the authority of the police magistrates of the parishes, all planters, as the cause.

In Antigua, since the emancipation in 1834, there has been no falling off, as far as we may judge from the incomplete returns. The total crops for the last six years of slavery, as appears by a local treasury return now before me, was 82,009 hogsheads; the total of the first four years of free labour, to which the return extends, was 47,463. The return for last year was not completed when I visited the island in February last, but it is stated in a note to the paper before me, as "generally considered to be pretty much the same as that of 1838," which was 18,251; and the crop of this year, which was then being reaped, was expected, by all the planters with whom I conversed, to equal, at least, those of the two preceding years. If these two crops of 1839 and 1840 be fairly taken, on such authority, at 18,000 each, (which would be below expectation,) the total of the six years of free labour will be 83,463—or, 1454 more than the total of the preceding equal period of slavery. And it must be observed, that, in the first place, the hogshead is now, throughout the colonies, generally larger by some cwt. than it was during slavery; and secondly, that Antigua, in 1837, was visited with so severe a drought, that water for domestic uses had to be imported into the island. The sugar crop of that year was, in consequence, only 5324 hogsheads, being a falling off from the average of the preceding eight years, of 7913 hogsheads.

The more hopeful colonial writers on the side of the planters are accustomed to give Barbados as affording a probable exception to the general failure of cultivation by free labour,—on account, they say, of its having an abundant labouring population and no waste land. Neither of these causes operates in Antigua; the population is not abundant, and land (although the price has doubled since emancipation) is easily obtained at less than a fourth of the cost at Barbados. And in Antigua, which has been for six years under free-labour cultivation, whilst the other colonies have been only two, we find, notwithstanding one unprecedented bad season, the sugar crops have not diminished, but are rather on the increase.

But then the ruinous wages! What immense sums of money the Antigua planters must have paid as an inducement to the free negroes to give their continuous labour for keeping up the cultivation! So perhaps some chance readers, who have no better authority on this subject than Sir Edward Cust and the writers of that stamp, may be disposed to think. Let me disabuse their minds of this impression. On the emancipation of the negroes in 1834, the Antigua planters entered into combined agreement to give only 6d. sterling a day, in addition to house and ground and medical attendance, as the wages for able bodied labourers; and in a despatch to the colonial secretary, dated in September, 1838, I find Sir William Colebrooke deprecating the smallness of this sum, which was still the price of labour, as "inadequate," and the cause of so many women being engaged in field labour,—for that worthy governor, like Sir Lionel Smith, considers such labour morally and physically injurious to our women. When in Antigua, in the early part of this year, I found wages at 6d. to 8d. sterling.

Trinidad has also made good crops since emancipation; but not having been able to obtain the returns, I can give no comparative statement. The history of the last year's crop will give some general idea of the manner in which "bad news" is manufactured in the colonies, for the city articles of the leading journals in this country. Before the crop commenced, it was confidently predicted, in the most approved ruination style, that there would be a falling off, to the amount of at least 5000 hogsheads, from that of 1838. The predicted deficiency grew gradually less bulky, as the reaping proceeded, and at the close, instead of a deficiency, there was an increase of several hundred hogsheads, which, for want of shipping, were left over for this year's exports. When I visited this island in January, I everywhere found the planters anticipating, with good weather, an excellent crop this year. The labour afforded by the emancipated negroes, at a rate of wages which, with the present price of sugar, leaves the planters (on the showing of respectable members of their body) at least 30 per cent. profits on the invested capital,—the amount of free labour now afforded for such wages, is fully adequate to the keeping up of the cultivation as it was during slavery and the apprenticeship. The clamoured "deficiency of labour," as regards this island, is true only with reference to the virgin waste lands, which the planters are desiring to take into cultivation.

The sugar crop in Tobago, last year, (the first of freedom,) was over 1000 hogs. more than that of the preceding year, which was also a good one. St. Kitts has increased its production since emancipation; and when I visited the island in March, the crop which was then being reaped was expected to be a good one. Grenada, last year, had a falling off of nearly a third, from the crop of 1838. A joint committee of the council and assembly, reporting on the subject, referred it, amongst other causes, to the facility with which the more industrious labourers could obtain land allotments cheap, and settle down as small farmers; and also to the greater rate of wages, which these small farmers could afford to pay for labour. When the reader bears in mind, that the cultivation of the cane, where the land is at all fit for it, is more profitable than that of any other tropical production, he will be at some difficulty, perhaps, to understand how the small negro farmer, with no capital beyond his stock, could possibly compete with the planter capitalist; and, not only that, but could also afford to give higher wages for labour. The fact is, the one is satisfied with such a fair and reasonable amount of profit as will enable him to maintain his family in comfort, in the colony; the other is looking to make a fortune rapidly, to spend in this country among black-legs, jockies, and ladies of a certain quality: and I venture to predict, that wherever these two classes of cultivators can be brought fairly into competition,—that is, wherever land is cheap, and readily obtainable in the colonies, the latter will be found complaining of deficient crops, although everybody else around be rejoicing in abundant ones!

Taking all the Windward and Leeward islands together, as a whole, I think, Sir, it will be seen in reference to the statistics, that notwithstanding

bad seasons in some, and bad management (not to call it by a worse name) in all, there has been no falling off in the total amount of produce for the period since emancipation, as compared with the preceding equal period of slavery. The deficiencies of some of the islands will be found to have been made up by the increased production of others, and the short crops of one year by the surplus crops of another.

The principal deficiency (and on this view the only deficiency,) will be found to refer to Jamaica and British Guiana. In both these colonies, the falling off in the crops has been very great; and it would be but common honesty in those who are clamouring about the short supply of produce from our colonies under the free labour system, to confine themselves to these two, whence the short supply has in fact proceeded, and let their hearers into a knowledge of its causes. Is it because "the colonies," and "our West India possessions," are more indefinite, and as such afford them a better field in which to mislead and bewilder the understanding of the common reader by their gross misrepresentations and falsehoods,—is it for this reason, that they show so decided a preference for these general terms as the ground of their strictures on free labour cultivation? To Jamaica, to Guiana, and even to the less important shores of Grenada, the poor consumer of dear sugar might be able successfully to follow them with knowledge. His inquiries, having a specific bearing, might, from one quarter or another, meet a ready and accurate response. He might learn, if previously ignorant of the facts, that, from the abolition of slavery in 1834 to the present moment, the planters of Jamaica have been sedulously and unceasingly aiming to contravene that measure of Christian justice and British philanthropy, and to re-establish slavery in spirit and in fact under the name of freedom; that the most oppressive laws have for this purpose been enacted, and a course of conduct infamously inhumane and dishonest pursued with unvarying regularity; that the cruelties, frauds, and perjuries, systematically resorted to for the accomplishment of this object, have opened up to our astonished view new features of colonial depravity, which throw all that was before seen and abhorred into shade! These things the honest inquirer might learn; and instead of being surprised at the small supply of produce which has been shipped from that "distracted country," his wonder no doubt would be that any at all had been produced. He would wonderingly inquire for the influencing and restraining cause, which had preserved the people from rebellion under such treatment, and maintained the cultivation to some extent; and he would be pointed to the pious and patriotic exertions of the calumniated, and persecuted, and suffering Baptist preachers, and other friends of peaceful freedom,\* powerfully aided and inspired, under God, by the even-handed justice of a Mulgrave, a Sligo, and a Lionel Smith. This would at once solve the mystery; and thus made acquainted with the true facts of the case, he would no longer be liable to be deceived and misled, as respects Jamaica, by the pro-slavery clamours against free cultivation by the emancipated negroes.

And then as regards Guiana,—the sincere inquirer after truth would quickly learn, that the chief cause of the falling off in the crops of that colony, since emancipation in 1838, has been the excessive drought upon the land, for which the free negroes cannot be blamed, without impiously attributing to them, virtually, a power which, with the right to exercise it as He pleases, belongs only to God. The public journals of the colony in the interest of the planters—private correspondents writing from the colony—the magistrates in their reports, and the governor in his speeches to the legislature, and in his despatches to the colonial secretary; all agree in stating that this drought was of intense severity, parching the land, which everywhere opened up in thirsty cracks, and impeding cultivation in all its branches. In a published document, upon which I cannot now lay my hand, governor Light states, that a third (if I remember a-right "at least a third") of the crop of last year, the first of freedom, was lost upon the ground, because of the drought. Not for want of labour to carry out the cultivation, for there it was growing,—and ripe ready for the reaping,—nor for want of labour to reap it, was it lost; but for want of water in the trenches to float it, when reaped, to the mill, for the manufacturing process.

Your readers are not, perhaps, generally aware, that the estates in Guiana are all intersected with canals, locally called trenches, which serve the double purposes of drainage and carriage. Up these trenches, the canes, when cut, are carried in punts (a sort of flat bottomed boat) to the mill to be ground, &c. Whatever obstructs the free working of these trenches, necessarily obstructs, in so far, the manufacture of sugar; and the principal labour of the estates,—the most difficult, severe, and, indispensable,—is the cleaning of these trenches, and keeping them in a navigable state. During the severe drought of last year, there was not generally a sufficient depth of water in the trenches to render the carriage of canes from the fields to the mill as easy and expeditious

\* One word, in justice to these slandered men. Their language has been said to be somewhat too strong, and bordering too much on invective. Some indeed have not foreborne charging them with sedition, &c. I should not attempt to justify every expression that has fallen from the lips of every Baptist minister in Jamaica, nor every act of theirs; I would not justify every one of my own. But this much I will say—as one acquainted with the state of society in the colonies, and the characters of the men opposed to us—that the soft, set phrases of genteel society in this country would be lost upon them. To speak, to preach, to write, against the prevalent abuses with any degree of efficiency, the plain, unadorned truth must be told,—things must be called by their proper names, however harsh and offensive to the ears accustomed to more polite society. The prophets of God, the apostles of the Redeemer, and He, our Lord himself, were all considered by the wicked generations among whom they dwelt, as preachers of sedition; and so it must be as long as wickedness reigns, and honest men are found to rebuke and denounce it. They cannot use *mild*, inoffensive language for this purpose—for the use will not admit of it; and if there should be one amongst your readers, who has ever had an idea that such language might, with any good effect, be used on these occasions, I wish him for one month in the colonies, to convince him of his lamentable error! Of course, nothing I have here said, must be understood as applying to any kind of abusive terms. I am not aware that any such have been used by our Baptist friends, although they have been made the subject of a great deal of this abuse, in its grossest forms. It is "strong language" not abusive language I am defending. The latter is never necessary or proper, and weakens the cause which it is used to support. He is a bad advocate or has a bad cause, who needs the aid of abuse.



as was necessary to ensure the reaping of the whole crop; and thus it was that a third, as the governor states, was lost upon the ground. The want of labour had nothing to do with the falling off in the crop,—unless it be said, that had there been labourers enough to carry the canes in handfuls to the mill, none would have been lost. The want of labour had nothing to do with it, and wages—the price of labour in the colony—less than nothing, if less can be. The same rate of wages continued to be paid through the drought as had been paid before, and the same is generally paid to the present day,—namely, one guilder, the third of a dollar, equal in sterling money to 1s. 4½d. nearly.†

The drought having partially dried up the trenches, and, as a consequence, left a large portion of the available labour unemployed in the cane fields, the planters were enabled to turn that labour into the trenches, and so to clean and deepen them, that they are now said to be in a better condition than they had long been known to be; and my latest advices from the colony, just before I left Barbados, led to anticipate a large crop this year, partly on this account.

I have already, sir, trespassed at much greater length on your columns than I intended when I commenced; and as I have now reached a breathing point, I shall close here, reserving for another paper the few facts and observations I contemplated on the other branch of my subject—viz., the obstructions which the planters themselves, by their conduct since emancipation, have raised to the full cultivation of the estates, and their greatest amount of production. I would merely observe, for the benefit of the consumer, that the planters are not the losers to the amount of the deficiency; as the difference in the price makes up in some measure for the short quantity, and then again the cost of production must be deducted from the quantity deficient, before we arrive at the actual loss which the planters' misconduct entails upon themselves. Those who make full crops, or even average ones, are reaping all the benefit of the high prices, and these are most interested in keeping up the present state of things. It is for the British people to say, whether they will maintain the planter's monopoly, which enables him, at little cost to himself, to obstruct the fair working of the free labour system, by his wicked attempts upon the liberties of the labourers. Give him plainly to understand, that that monopoly will only be kept up to a certain extent—that foreign sugar like foreign corn will be admitted into the British market on a discriminating scale of duty—that in other words, his struggle with liberty, his endeavours to contravene the abolition act, must henceforth be carried on at his own proper cost and expence, and not at the cost of the British consumer. Let him plainly hear this warning in a vote of parliament, or in thunder tones from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, and one step will have been taken, and an efficient one, to ensure good crops in future, without the aid of a single Cooly immigrant.

I am Sir, your obedient servant,  
SAMUEL J. PRESCOD.  
Editor "*Barbados Liberal*."

6, Queen St. Place,  
London, July 13th, 1840.

† The dollar being valued at 4s. 2d. sterling, the exact third is 1s. 4½d. By a late paper from Barbados, I see that labourers emigrating from that island to Guiana are offered ten dollars per month, or about 1s. 7d. per day. Whether native labourers are now allowed the same or not, I cannot tell.

## Home News.

### THE LATE ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

THE MARQUIS OF WESTMINSTER'S LETTER TO THE DUKE OF SUSSEX.

THE following most interesting letter from the Marquis of Westminster to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, was intended to have been read at the late anniversary meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held in Exeter Hall, on the 24th ult.; but it did not reach his royal highness in time for that purpose.

(Copy.)

"Moor Park, June 24th, 1840.

"Your royal highness will allow me, I am sure, on such an occasion, to trouble you with a few lines this morning, as I am unable to attend the meeting at Exeter Hall, over which, I understand, your royal highness is to preside; and I have no doubt you will do so with a glow of satisfaction I should have been most happy to witness, in an assembly met for so hallowed a purpose. I have the more to regret at not being able to be present, as I cannot conceive a more magnificent spectacle than that of thousands of people met together for the express purpose of endeavouring to devise means of putting an end to the stupendous evils that necessarily arise out of slavery, the most gigantic curse that ever afflicted the human race.

"Even in the heathen world, 'Nil humani a me alienum puto,' was a standing and venerated maxim; much more stringently ought it to be the device of a christian community. Your royal highness must be satisfied, I am sure, that it is quite impossible the noble assembly now before you of delegates from various parts of the world can have met in our metropolis without producing a great sensation. Would to God the report of such a scene may make so deep and lasting an impression on the minds of our American brethren especially, as may influence their hearts in speedily removing from their fine country a taint so disgraceful as a traffic in their fellow-creatures! What a picture of our fallen nature is this ascendancy of bad over good feelings!

"From what I have read in the reports of the papers, much good, I conceive, must arise from the many interesting discussions that have taken place among the delegates; they have cast their bread on the waters, and though it may not return to them immediately, it must, and most abundantly, ere long.

"Your royal highness will be convinced that free labour ought to be encouraged in all ways and at all hazards, and slave-labour in the same proportion discountenanced; and we must not be disheartened, should success not equal our ardent hopes and expectations. The question, your royal highness knows full well, is beset with many and great difficulties, open and unrelenting enemies, pretended and lukewarm friends. You will also regret doubtless with me, that there should be any uncertainty as to the effect of the law with regard to the entire destruction throughout the British dominions. When slavery was bought out at such an enormous cost, would any one have doubted that the entire destruction

of this accursed thing was by law fully accomplished? I trust, if there should be the slightest ground for these apprehensions, no time will be lost in removing them.

"In regard to free labour, there is an unbounded scope for it in our East Indian possessions, as well as in the West, and the unshackled slave may now go on his way rejoicing, if not impeded by the sordid obstructions of monsters in human form.

"Praying that all this good may speedily be accomplished, to the honour of our country and of all mankind (triumphs more glorious than any earthly conquests.)

"I have the honour to subscribe myself your royal highness's very faithfully,

To his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, K. G.

&c. &c. &c.

"TO WILLIAM ALLEN, ESQ., &c., &c.

"I enclose you by this evening's post a letter which I have received from the Marquis of Westminster, and which his lordship intended should have been delivered to me at our glorious meeting on the 24th inst. Unfortunately it never came to hand until late in the evening, and therefore I was unable to communicate it to the body assembled on that occasion; but as I am sure that its contents will gratify the friends of anti-slavery, and that it will further the cause, I transmit a copy of it to you, that you may make the best use of it you can, in disseminating sentiments so highly honourable to the noble writer, and so completely in accordance with the general opinions of a numerous and highly respectable body of persons throughout the country.

"E. AUGUSTUS, F. D. S.

"Kensington Palace, June 27th, 1840."

THE FRENCH ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE have addressed a letter of acknowledgment to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, of which the following is a translation:—

GENTLEMEN—We have been apprised by the London newspapers, and by the report of M. M. Isambert, the chief of the deputation sent by us to you, of the cordial reception which your convention has given to this deputation, and of the distinguished honour extended to it in placing our representative next after your venerable president, Thomas Clarkson, in the list of speakers who addressed the great final meeting held in Exeter Hall on the 24th June, 1840, under the presidency of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex.

Before giving to these matters the proper degree of publicity, we wait for the address to the French nation, resolved on by the convention on the 16th June: the preparation of which was devolved on a committee.

At the moment when our deputation was bringing us the expression of your ardent desires in favour of an oppressed race, and was identifying itself with the homage you were rendering to the memory of your friends, Smith, Macauley, and Wilberforce; Strasburg, one of the great cities of France, was inscribing on the monument she is raising to the memory of the inventor of printing, and at the foot of the statue, on the emblem of Africa, the name of Wilberforce, and of your president, the venerable Clarkson, as liberators of the blacks, who were associated in the impulse which was given to the cause in our country by Condorcet, Brissot, Lafayette, Mirabeau, and Gregoire, the illustrious founders of our first Société des Noirs.

It is with pleasure that we recall this recollection, and that we are enabled to state to you the favourable progress that public opinion is making in France towards the prompt abolition of slavery.

Already we are enabled to certify from the unanimity with which the French press has reported the proceedings of your convention, and of your great public meeting on the 24th, that they have exercised the happiest influence on the public opinion of this capital.

Paris, at a sitting of the committee held 1st July, 1840.

• (Signed)

ALEXANDRE DE LA BORDE,  
LAISNE DE LA VILBERNIQUE.

SUSPENSION OF THE ROYAL SANCTION TO THE JAMAICA ACTS. The Rev. W. Knibb has addressed the following letter to the editor of the *Patriot*:—

Sir,—The deep and universal interest felt in the present state of Jamaica, as it respects the recent laws passed by the house of assembly in that island, and transmitted to the colonial office for the approval of her majesty, will render any apology for my trespassing upon your columns unnecessary.

An answer which I have received to a letter sent to the colonial office on this all-important subject, informs me that lord John Russell has communicated with Sir Charles Metcalfe respecting those acts; and that her Majesty's decision is withheld until a reply shall be received at the colonial office.

It is right that the friends of the negro should be made acquainted with the true state of the case, and that they should know that each of these unjust and partial laws is in operation, though not sanctioned at home, Sir Charles Metcalfe having passed them without a suspending clause.

As these laws have not, however, been yet confirmed by the home government, I would earnestly implore the different anti-slavery associations not to lose a moment in fully acquainting themselves with their nature, and in manifesting such a demonstration of public opinion as shall fully support the colonial office, should they desire their disallowance, or relieve themselves of all responsibility, should there, unhappily, be a disposition to confirm them.

The abolition of slavery in America depends in a great measure on the successful working of freedom in Jamaica. The present attempt of the disgraceful and degraded house of assembly to destroy liberty is as base as it is unjust. They are as unfit to legislate for freemen as the tiger is to care for the lamb; and I do hope that the inhabitants of Great Britain, who have purchased freedom at such an immense sacrifice, will not allow themselves to be swindled out of it, or the peaceful and industrious peasant again to be oppressed by a set of men, whose every action for the last twenty years has proved that they are totally incapable of passing any laws (except as they are forced) at all tending to extend or confirm the liberties of man.

A determined stand may save Jamaica from semi-slavery. If these



laws in the hands of a corrupt local magistracy are confirmed by the home government, liberty is destroyed.

I am, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM KNIBB.

REV. MESSRS. STAINSBY AND OUGHTON. The Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society have passed the following resolution.

"That this committee hereby express their admiration of the conduct of their esteemed brother the Rev. Samuel Oughton, and his fellow-sufferer, the Rev. John Stainsby, Rector of Hanover, under the very painful circumstances in which they are now placed, and their entire approval of the steps which have been taken in the whole affair; and beg to assure them that the fullest confidence is placed in their integrity, and that it is the earnest prayer of the committee that they may be sustained in this affliction by the gracious presence of God, and permitted at no distant period, to resume their important labours."

Fen Court, July 4, 1840.

JOSEPH GUTTERIDGE, Chairman

We hear that Mr. Turnbull's plan for the extinction of the slave-trade, has become matter of official communication between Lord Palmerston and the Spanish government.

## Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

### WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—THE RENT QUESTION.—The papers contain the following official document on this subject.

(CIRCULAR.)

King's House, April 30th, 1840.

SIR—I am directed to transmit for your information and guidance, and that of the magistrates of your parish, both local and stipendiaries, the subjoined series of queries with answers thereto by his honour the attorney-general.

I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

J. M. HIGGINSON, Sec.

The Hon. \_\_\_\_\_

QUERY. 1st.—Can rent be recovered under the petty debt act without proof of some agreement to pay? If not, what constitutes an agreement?

Answer.—It can be recovered on proof of use and occupation. An implied agreement.

2nd.—Where the people have been told only generally, and in the mass, that a certain rate of rent will be charged, does their remaining in possession without any other mode of assent bind them to pay that rate of rent?

Answer.—The possession of the tenant after such notice would make a *prima facie* case, by strong implication of agreement to such rent. In use and occupation actions, the value of such use and occupation is, however, eventually to determine the question of rent recoverable where no such strong implication has ground of existence, or where the justice doubts as to a full understanding by the parties of the meaning of the notice.

3rd.—Should notice have been given to the people individually, in writing or otherwise, that from and after the date of delivery of such notice, a certain amount of rent will be charged; will their holding over merely, without any distinct agreement to pay, subject them to be sued for rent so accruing (being below £10.) under the petty act?

Answer.—It will so subject them, unless some equity militates much with the amount of rent attempted to be enforced; if the term of the tenant had determined and it was explained to him clearly and positively that he could only hold on at a certain rent, a very strong case would be necessary to be made out by him in order to show he had not by his occupying agreed to pay the rent demanded.

4th.—Where a notice of this kind proposes to make the tenant of the house not only liable to pay rent for the house he occupies and the ground he may cultivate, but in the event of his being married, charges him on account of ground for his wife, without any evidence to prove that there are two grounds, or that the one is of larger extent than usual; can the tenant be sued under the petty debt act for such extra charge, in the absence of an agreement to pay it?

Answer.—The manner of payment may be declared by the landlord in general cases, and if the tenant holds on after such declaration, and after his term has expired, he will, in my opinion, subject himself to the declared rent.

5th.—But if being unmarried, it is attempted to make him liable for his reputed wife's ground, no evidence being adduced to show that she has a ground upon the property, but the case being rested merely upon the notice; can such charge be legally enforced, where no agreement to pay exists?

Answer.—The previous answer suffices for this query.

6th.—If a given amount of rent imposed by a notice, and not an affair of agreement, cannot immediately take effect;—after what period, if at all, will the tenant holding over be liable to pay it?

Answer.—If the tenant had notice of such rent before the determination of his term, he will be obliged to pay such rent after that determination.

7th.—After what period of notice can a person who has been admitted as tenant, and paid rent, be ejected?

Answer.—This depends on his tenancy, and the manner of ejectment.

8th.—Can a person who has remained on sufferance merely (not as a trespasser), and paid no rent, be ejected summarily?

Answer.—He will become a trespasser after notice to quit.

9th.—When ejected, can either of these parties claim the produce of any garden or ground they may have had in cultivation on the property, or compensation for it?

Answer.—A tenant at will, ejected against his will, has a right to emblements.

10th.—If a person quits voluntarily giving up possession of his house, can he take up, as they become ripe, any provisions remaining in his ground, or claim to be paid for them?

Answer.—He cannot do either the one or the other, if he himself determines the will.

11th.—Where people are hired by the year or quarter on terms exempting them from the direct charge of rent, but which they pay indirectly in a lower rate of wages, does this arrangement subject them to a summary ejectment on the expiration of such period of agreed service?

Answer.—This is a case of mixed agreement, labour and rent. When one part of the agreement ceases so does the other.

12th.—Is charge for double rent, under any circumstances, legal?

Answer.—In my opinion the charge of double rent is not illegal, and it may be recovered by action at law, varying as to the court according to the amount, either before two justices under the petty debt act, or in the superior court in cases greater than the amount for which the petty debt court gives remedy.

THE CONDUCT OF THE LOCAL MAGISTRACY must have been very bad, to have drawn from their pet governor the following courteous, but very significant rebuke.

King's House, 24th April, 1840.

SIR,—Circumstances have, at various times come under the governor's notice, which induce him to request your attention, and that of the magistrates of your parish, local and stipendiary, to the following remarks. You will be pleased to communicate them to both classes of the magistracy in the manner most convenient.

2. The magistrates ought to maintain towards each other at all times the utmost courtesy. The appearance of wrangling or any uncourteous language or demeanour on the bench must be unseemly, and ought to be cautiously avoided. There may and will be differences of opinion, but these differences ought to be expressed without any deviation from entire respect towards those who may entertain opposite sentiments. Mutual reproaches, or accusations of partiality on account of disagreement in judgment, ought never to be hazarded. The conduct of the judges in the higher courts ought to be imitated, who, when they differ in opinion, express their differences without any overbearing manner, and with perfect courtesy and respect.

3. It behoves every magistrate to guard himself against the bias to which, from his position, he may be liable, and to discard from his mind every consideration but the desire to render strict justice between the parties before him. The notion of supporting one class or another ought never to actuate him in his judicial proceedings; because it is obvious that such a notion is likely to effect his impartiality.

4. His impartiality may also be affected by previous communication with either of the parties whose case may be before him, especially if he should have acted as the adviser of either party. It will be hard for him to decide with perfect impartiality in a case which he must in a great measure have prejudged as an adviser. In cases, therefore, in which a magistrate has advised a party in his proceedings, or has obtained an intimate knowledge of one side of the case by previous communication, it would be right that the magistrate should abstain from adjudicating in that case, as it is always desirable that the court should form its judgment from what comes before it alone, and not from any prejudication or fore-knowledge.

5. The senior magistrate present, in the absence of the custos, ought to preside in the court; and as chairman, after receiving the opinions of the other magistrates, ought to deliver the judgment of the whole, or, in the case of difference, of the majority, as the judgment of the court. Separate addresses from the other magistrates to the parties or the bystanders are not suitable to the order and dignity which ought to be upheld in a court of justice.

6. The objects of these remarks are to prevent any departure from regularity and decorum, and to promote the equal administration of justice to all parties without distinction. The governor trusts and believes that they are generally unnecessary, but instances having occurred in which the obvious and proper course appears to have been deviated from, he has thought that it might not be amiss to make known his sentiments on the points herein noticed.

I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

J. M. HIGGINSON, Sec

The Hon. \_\_\_\_\_

BARBADOS.—By a private channel we have received a file of the *Liberal* to the 16th of May, from which it appears that the acts for restraining emigration, and for punishing those who may aid and abet it, were still causing great agitation. The popular meeting of the 10th of April had become the occasion of a counter-meeting of planters, who assembled, to the number of fifty-seven persons, in the parish of St. Philip, on the 25th of the same month. The meeting commenced its proceedings by passing unanimously the following most liberal resolution:—

Resolved 1.—That it is essentially a part of the liberty of every free man, and consequently of every member of the community of this island, without exception to carry himself, his capital, and his labour, to what country or place soever he pleases, and to take such counsel and enter into such arrangements with other parties for this purpose, as he pleases. And that, whilst it is the duty of the government of this and every other country to protect, by proper laws properly administered, all classes of the inhabitants against practices of fraud and deception tending to injure them either in their persons or their properties, no estimate or opinion of the advantages or disadvantages to result to individuals from their voluntary act of leaving the country can be a valid and sufficient reason for interfering, otherwise than by advice, to restrain them in the exercise of their right to do so.

Nothing can be better than this. Yet they immediately resolve also, that the law which enacts that

"Every person counselling, aiding and abetting any such offender, (emigration agents,) and every person who shall contract with, entice, persuade or endeavour to seduce any labourer or artificer to go out of this island to any other colony or place, shall on conviction thereof before any police magistrate of this island, forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding fifty pounds, nor less than ten pounds for every labourer or artificer so contracted with, enticed, persuaded, or attempted so to be," &c.



"does not interfere unnecessarily or oppressively with the rights of the people of this island!" In the course of the meeting Mr. Justice Applewhaite undertook to explain "the chief causes" of the present eagerness for emigration, and we have from him the following edifying confession:—"It is owing," he says, "in some measure to ourselves. The system pursued towards our labourers is *totally wrong*. The exacting of a bitt, and in some instances more, from free men for absent days at their labour *looks something like oppression*; and they never will consider themselves freemen, until they can dispose of their labour when and where they please." This is good anti-slavery doctrine, and is promulgated on the best authority. On a subsequent resolution, which sets forth the benefit of the labouring class as the chief reason why the planters are so earnest in opposing emigration, we extract from the *Liberal* the following remarks:—

The planters care no more about the labourers, generally speaking, (except as regards the getting them to work their estates) than we do about the inhabitants of the moon! They wish to obtain their labour at the lowest possible price, and judging that emigration will cause the price to rise, they are opposed to it, and of course, will do all they can to prevent it. Do these men believe that all their canting pretensions about the 'welfare of the labourer' being their 'sole object,' just now when they find it to be their interest to put a stop to emigration, can deceive any person here or elsewhere? Where was all this feeling when the system of 'starving the labourers to make them work,' was put in operation? Really we are sick of such hypocrisy. If they feel so much annoyed at an emigration agent for British Guiana being in Barbados, let them send one there in return, and let it be seen whether the Barbados emigration agent can by 'flaming descriptions,' &c., &c., entice, seduce, or persuade a few of the Demerara labourers to come to us! This will be all perfectly fair, and then the labourers will very shortly have it in their power to determine absolutely on *which side* the advantage lies. This will be a means of bringing things to their level directly; and come to its level or fair average price labour must and will, let the planters write, speechify, legislate, or do what they will on the subject. Labour throughout these colonies must and will find its level; and it is perfect folly in the planters of Barbados, or any where, to seek to prevent it. We are only surprised at their ignorance in this respect. The price of labour must, from natural causes, be equalised, or brought to something like an average; but that is no proof that Barbados will be depopulated. That she will lose a portion of her population we believe, but not sufficient to prevent a fair and proper cultivation of the soil. Labour will be higher no doubt, and this must be the case as long as the profits from the cultivation of the soil in our neighbouring colonies give a return sufficient to enable the planter to pay higher wages. With these causes operating, emigration cannot be put a stop to, without the enactment of laws which must reduce the labourer to the condition from which the generosity of the British people has just redeemed him. This will not be sanctioned by the home government, and it is certainly rather surprising that the first attempt at bringing back slavery, in the shape of the emigration act, should have been sanctioned by the governor. It will show the great influence which the proprietary body of the island have with his Excellency, and the great interest which he feels for their pecuniary advantage.

In the meantime the outrageous laws are in operation, and frantic planter-justices are enacting freaks for wonder almost beyond all precedent. Let our readers edify themselves by pondering the following sample, extracted from the *Liberal* of May 20th:—

Mr. Day was cited before Philip Applewhaite, Esq., P. M. of St. Philip's parish, on Monday last, and fined 6 months imprisonment without hard labour, for a breach of the late emigration act. The punishment awarded in this case is that laid down for the *second* offence in the above-mentioned act; and this judgment of Mr. Applewhaite's is made while his first decision remains to be confirmed or reversed by an appeal preferred against it by Mr. Day to the governor and council!

Mr. Brown was brought up on the same day, and charged before Mr. Applewhaite with aiding and abetting Mr. Day, by hiring a certain cart or waggon for the conveying sundry articles of household property, belonging to intended emigrants, to Bridge-town. Well may the *Mercury* be ashamed to state what breach of the immigration act Mr. Brown was charged with! Here is a man who earns his living by keeping carts and horses for the purpose of hiring out. A person sends and offers to hire his carts on a certain day to take some articles to Bridge-town. Mr. Brown hires his horse and cart as he has been accustomed to do: he is cited before a magistrate, and fined £50. for so doing! And this is the act which does not 'unnecessarily interfere with the rights and liberties of the subject!' This is the act the meaning of which has been 'grossly perverted for party purposes.' This is the *unrestricted* freedom which the people of this colony enjoy. This is the enjoyment of the 'acknowledged right' of the labourer to 'carry his labour to the best market,' and this is the *means adopted to enable him to do so*!! Shall we extend our remarks on this subject? No! Mr. Day and Mr. Brown have both appealed.

#### UNITED STATES.

THE BAPTIST ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION have issued the following Address to the Baptist Slave-holders of the Southern States.

Fathers and brethren,

We have assembled to the number of one hundred and ten persons, at the written call of seven hundred Baptists from thirteen of the United States. Of this number, about four hundred are accredited ministers of Jesus Christ.

A conviction of duty, which, we humbly conceive, is based upon the fear of God, and the love of our fellow-men,—whether bond or free, oppressors or oppressed,—constrains us to submit a few thoughts for your special and candid consideration. In doing so, we appeal with the firmest confidence to the Omniscient God, for the rectitude of our

intentions. We solemnly profess a prayerful and submissive reverence for the principles of his recorded will. We feelingly avow a tender sympathy, not only for the slave, but also for you, upon many of whom slavery is entailed by heritage and enforced by law; while inexorable habits, formed in the passive state of infancy, as well as universal usage, impose bonds upon yourselves scarcely less strong or less oppressive than the fetters of the slave.

Hear us, then, with patience and kindness.—It is our firm conviction that the whole system of American slavery, in theory and practice, is a violation of the instincts of nature—a perversion of the first principles of justice—and a positive transgression of the revealed will of God. For man instinctively seeks happiness and repels outrage; while slavery compels him to forego the former and endure the latter, for himself and his posterity, until the end of time.—Justice, in its very nature, assumes the existence of free moral agents, mutually bound by established principles, and acting towards each other with perfect reciprocity. We do not speak of justice towards a "chattel personal," a horse, or a swine. But the statutes of the south pronounce a slave "a chattel personal to all intents and purposes whatsoever;" and thus set him beyond the pale of justice, as utterly disqualified to assert a right or to redress a wrong.

Divine revelation, as committed to Moses and expounded by our Lord, teaches that pious self-love is the only proper measure of our love towards others. Does slavery,—especially its laws which quench or smother in the slave the light of the mind, which tear from his agonised bosom the dearest objects of his natural affection—conform to that rule of holy writ?

We believe that God only has the right to take away the health, the wife, the children, or the life of men guilty of no social crime. When man, single or associated, uses his power for such ends, he appears to us to arrogate to himself the prerogatives of the Almighty, and to assume a responsibility under which an archangel would stagger.

God, it is true, made use of the Jews to exterminate certain heathen tribes, and to inflict upon others a mild servitude, carefully defined and restricted. To employ this mode of punishment, or any other that he chose, was his unquestionable right. But where is the scripture warrant to apply this special license of Jehovah for the extirpation of the human race at large, or the enslavement of any nation in particular? This specific direction to his peculiar people is but an *exception* that confirms the *general rule* of his Son, "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

The heart of the blessed Jesus was, indeed, an overflowing fountain of the tenderest sympathy for human woe. Food, health, and life, were his boon, never withheld when solicited; and the gospel preached to the poor was the peculiar and characteristic proof of his being the Son of God and the Saviour of the world. No evidence exists that he ever witnessed a scene of slavery. It is not shewn that the Hebrews of that day trafficked in human flesh. The chained coffin—the naked gang of the cotton field—the exposed female reeking under the lash—the child torn for ever from its mother's breaking heart—these, and worse acts of slavery's tragedy, were not performed, so far as history speaks, before the face of Jesus. But his warmest, almost his only burst of indignation, is against those who devoured the helpless widow's substance, and, for a pretence, made long prayers and liberal contributions to the cause of God.

His itinerant inspired followers were too busy in draining off the universal deluge of idolatry, explaining the nature of the one living God, and establishing the claims of Jesus as the true Messiah, to define, or to condemn, in form, every species and variety of crime, in every age, that hell, fruitful of inventions, might suggest, and fallen human nature perpetrate. Hence, horse-racing, gambling, piracy, the rum traffic, and the African and American slave-trade, remain ungraduated in the scripture scale of human sins. Paul, however, exhorts the servants of *heathen* masters to respectfulness and patience, for the reason that the name of God be not blasphemed; and advises them, while patient under bondage, to prefer freedom. He enjoins *christian* masters to give their servants what is just and equal. Do the slaves of American Baptists obtain justice and equity? He implores his brother Philemon to receive again the converted fugitive, not, as he probably had been, the heathen vassal of a heathen lord, but as a beloved brother in Jesus Christ. Thus we behold, in all the scriptures, a virtual and total condemnation of American slavery.

Besides, American Calvinistic Baptists, as a whole denomination, have been hitherto regarded by the Christian world as *responsible for the sins of Baptist slave-holders, and the sufferings of one hundred thousand Baptist slaves*. And if we fail, as many do, to testify our abhorrence of a system that allows a fellow-christian to sell his brother, or his brother's wife or child, or to dissolve the marriage tie at pleasure, we see not how to escape the merited contempt of mankind, the reproaches of conscience, or the displeasure of God. For the followers of Jesus are ordained the light of the world, and his witnesses of the truth until the end of time.

Further, in the exhaustion of your once teeming soil,—the non-increase and, in some parts, diminution of your white population—the depreciation of your staple products, and the competition of British enterprise in India—the jubilee shout of West Indian emancipation, rousing the dormant spirit of your slaves to assert the rights of man—your intrinsic incapacity of self-defence in case of foreign aggression—your constant exposure to servile insurrection and massacre—and in the general reprobation of republican slavery throughout the rest of the civilised and christian world—we behold indications that God attests by earthly signs the precept of his heavenly oracles, to "let the oppressed go free."

Again, if you have heard us thus far with candour, you may perhaps inquire, "What would you have us do?" We answer,—at once confess before heaven and earth the sinfulness of holding slaves; admit it to be not only a misfortune, but a crime; remonstrate against laws that bind the system on you; petition for the guaranty to all of "national and unalienable rights." If your remonstrances and prayers to man are disregarded, cast yourselves on the God of providence and justice; forsake, like Abraham, your father-land, and carry your children and your households to the vast asylum of our prairies and our wilderness, where our Father in heaven has bidden our mother earth to open her exuberant breast for the nourishment of many sons.

Finally,—if you should (which Heaven avert!) remain deaf to the voice of warning and entreaty,—if you still cling to the power-maintained privilege of living on unpaid toil, and of claiming as property the image of God which Jesus bought with precious blood,—we solemnly declare, as we fear the Lord, that we cannot and we dare not recognise



you as consistent brethren in Christ; we cannot join in partial, selfish prayers, that the groans of the slave may be unheard; we cannot hear preaching which makes God the author and approver of human misery and vassalage; and we cannot at the Lord's table, cordially take that as a brother's hand, which plies the scourge on woman's naked flesh,—which thrusts a gag into the mouth of man,—which rivets fetters on the innocent,—and which shuts up the Bible from human eyes.—We deplore your condition; we pray for your deliverance; and God forbid that we should ever sin against Him by ceasing so to pray.

ELON GALUSHA, *President.*

O. S. MURRAY, *Secretary.*

### Poetry.

[During the recent sittings of the Anti-slavery convention, an earnest wish was expressed that the poets of America might consecrate their talents to the sacred cause of freedom. This idea was happily taken up by Dr. William Beattie, who speedily produced the following spirited address to the trans-atlantic bards. On occasion of the soiree given to the foreign delegates at the close of the convention, a copy of this address was read to the assembled delegates; and the chairman was instructed to "convey the most cordial thanks of the meeting to the author, Dr. Beattie, and respectfully to request the manuscript with a view to its publication." This resolution was conveyed to the author, whose kind compliance was not only immediately given, but conveyed in terms, evincing an ardent and devoted attachment to the cause of the immediate and universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. The address will we trust, awaken the sympathies and command the energies of those American poets to whom the gifted writer makes his emphatic appeal.]

#### TO THE POETS OF AMERICA.

BARDS of Freedom's boasted land!  
Brothers!—foremost of the free!  
Ye, who with impassion'd hand  
Sweep the chords of Liberty—  
Ye, to whom the boon is given  
To win the ear and melt the heart!  
Awake! and, waking earth and heaven,  
Perform the minstrel's noblest part.

Why stand ye mute? when on the ear  
A thunder peal from sea to sea—  
A peal earth's darkest haunts shall hear—  
Proclaims, *The Slave shall now be free!*  
Long has he drain'd the bitter cup!  
Long borne the scourge, and dragg'd the chain!  
But now the strength of Europe's up—  
A strength that ne'er shall sleep again!

Your GARRISON has fann'd the flame!  
CHILD, CHAPMAN, PIERREPONT, catch the fire!  
And, roused at Freedom's hallow'd name,  
Hark! BRYANT—WHITTIER—strike the lyre!  
While here hearts, voices, trumpet-toned—  
MONTGOMERY—COWPER—CAMPBELL—MOORE—  
To Freedom's glorious cause respond,  
In sounds that thrill through every core!

Their voice has conjured up a power  
No foes can daunt, no force arrest;  
That gathers strength with every hour,  
And strikes a chord in every breast:  
A power that soon on Afric's sand,  
On Cuba's shore, on ocean's flood,  
Shall crush the oppressor's iron hand,  
And blast the traffickers in blood.

O! where should Freedom's hope abide,  
Save in the bosoms of the free?  
Where should the wretched negro hide,  
Save in the shade of Freedom's tree?  
And where should minstrel wake the strain  
That cheers Colombia's forests wild?  
O! not where captives clank their chain;  
For POETRY is FREEDOM's child!

The minstrel cannot, must not sing,  
Where fetter'd slaves in bondage pine;  
Man has no voice, the muse no wing,  
Save in the light of Freedom's shrine.  
O! by those songs your children sing—  
The lays that soothe your winter fires—  
The hopes, the hearths to which you cling—  
The sacred ashes of your sires!  
By all the joys that crown the free—  
Love—Honour—Fame—the hope of Heaven!  
Wake in your might! that earth may see  
God's gifts have not been vainly given.

BARDS of Freedom's favoured strand!  
Strike at last your loftiest key!  
Peal the watchword through the land!  
Shout! till every slave is free!—  
Long has he drained the bitter cup;  
Long borne the lash, and clanked the chain:  
But now the strength of Europe's up—  
A strength that ne'er shall sleep again!

Park-square, June 24th.

W. B.

## Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 15TH.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society desire respectfully to represent to their friends throughout the country, their present situation.

Their first annual meeting has been just held, and has met with that countenance and public support which encourages them to enter upon the business committed to them with renewed and increased alacrity and confidence. An account of its proceedings is to be circulated without delay.

Much important business has also been entrusted to the committee for deliberation and execution by the convention lately terminated. This convention which has been closely occupied for ten successive days, has been attended by delegates from the principal towns in this kingdom, from Scotland and from Ireland and also from various parts of the world. It has been engaged in deliberating upon measures in immediate connexion with the great object of the society, *the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, by means of a moral, religious, and pacific character.* A detailed account of its proceedings is intended to be prepared for publication as soon as this can conveniently be done. In the meantime the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, issued by this society, is embodying a brief report of the proceedings of the convention.

This committee in the immediate prospect of increased expenses in consequence of the enlarged sphere of its operations, and with a full persuasion that there is a wide field to labour in for the benefit of the [lately enfranchised] negroes in the British colonies, and for the early termination of slavery and the slave-trade in European colonies, and in other parts of the world, does earnestly solicit the aid of the friends of the oppressed in promptly procuring liberal annual subscriptions, and remitting the same to George William Alexander, Treasurer to the society, at No. 40, Lombard Street; or to J. H. Tredgold, Secretary, No. 27, New Broad Street, London.

The *Reporter* is published once a fortnight, at threepence per number, and may be had by ordering it through the newsmen: the regular purchase and perusal of it is recommended to the friends of the slave everywhere.

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary.*

London, June 30, 1840.

A SPECIAL public meeting of the Baptist Union was held at New Park Street Chapel, Southwark, on the 8th instant, for the purpose of receiving the rev. Messrs. Galusha, Colver, and Grosvenor, who have been deputed to this body by the Baptist Anti-slavery Convention in the United States. James Low, esq., the treasurer, took the chair, and introduced the American brethren to the meeting. The rev. gentlemen then spoke successively, and at considerable length, on American slavery, as most fearfully polluting the church of Christ in that country. They stated that not a few of their brethren had felt the evil so intensely as to resolve, that amidst all difficulties something must be attempted for its cure; and that in consequence they had met in convention in April last. They had then determined to hold no religious communion with slave-holding professors; a measure in which they wished for the concurrence of their British brethren. They had taken their present stand in the midst of many difficulties, both from avowed enemies and professed friends, and they wanted support in a holy effort which as much concerned English Christians as themselves. "Here we expected," said the rev. Mr. Colver, in concluding his address, "to have a response both loud and long; and here I stand, in hope that such a response is to come from the hearts of my brethren. When I go back and tell them that the brethren respond here, and tell them that their hearts are with us, we shall feel our hands strengthened, and our hearts cheered; we shall thank God, and take courage." The rev. gentlemen spoke with much force, and were greeted with expressions of applause which demonstrated that the feeling of the meeting was entirely with them. This concurrence was formally manifested, however, by the unanimous adoption of the following resolution, which was moved by the rev. C. Stovel, and seconded by the rev. J. H. Hinton.

That this meeting have heard with great satisfaction of the measures which have been taken by those of their brethren who have constituted themselves into the Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention in the United States, and cheerfully declare that the most cordial endeavours shall be made on their part to sustain the exertions of their transatlantic brethren in the anti-slavery cause.

NEWSPAPER

ANTI-SLAVERY  
REPORTER



To this account it may be added, that the Baptists are the first religious body in the United States, among whom the anti-slavery spirit has been thus vigorously displayed. The members of that body who have come forward on this occasion have done themselves great honour; and we cannot but express our earnest hope, that in the movement they have made they will be speedily joined by the remaining portion of their own denomination, and followed by the other religious connexions in the Union. Appalling but unquestionable are the two assertions—first, that the countenance of christian churches is the principal support of American slavery; and secondly, that consistent action among christian churches would speedily accomplish its overthrow.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(Continued from our last.)

Judge JEREMIE from Ceylon said that Dr. Bowring had omitted one point in M. D'Isambert's address, namely, that in Martinique the free coloured population now go hand in hand with the slaves.—(Hear, and cheers.)

M. CREMIEUX, the president of the Jewish Consistory of Paris, then rose and addressed the convention in French, which was afterwards translated by Dr. Bowring. He said—In rising to address you, permit me to say, that I do not regret that I speak to you in French. The translation which Dr. Bowring will give you of my address will adorn it with that eloquence which in itself it wants, and, submitted to you by that skilful interpreter, my observations will be more favourably received.—(Hear, hear, and cheers.) I cannot express to you, gentlemen, the emotions which I feel at this moment—the most overpowering feelings penetrate my heart, and entirely overcome me. First, I feel the most profound admiration for those English customs and manners, which have given to the spirit of association such irresistible power of proclaiming its objects nobly and in the face of the world—objects the most liberal and most worthy of the enlightened age that has approved and adopted them—a spirit of association, which our laws, I am sorry to say, prohibit, to the sorrow and despair of all those generous men who in France call loudly for the abolition of such restrictive enactments.—(Cheers.) I feel also overpowered by the thought that an Israelite should appear in this assembly, where he has been received with so much favour, to demand, with an enthusiasm equal to yours, the abolition of slavery. Gentlemen, all liberties are united, and all persecutions hold together. Persecute, and you will make slaves; proclaim the equality of all, and you create citizens.—(Cheers.) It is thus that your O'Connell—(Loud cheers)—whom we should envy to England, if the glory of England at this moment was not amalgamated with that of France in this great work, in demanding complete equality for Ireland, proclaimed at the same time the principles of humanity and justice, and has rendered for the future all persecution impossible against men who conquered equality for themselves.—(Loud cheering.) I feel great pleasure in joining this convention, because I am a descendant of those Hebrews who were the first to proclaim the abolition of slavery, and I this day only repeat what the Jews have always admitted in principle. Indeed, it is not without interest that I now recall to your recollection, that it was the sect of the Essenes which first declared slavery to be a crime, and that it was, to use the expression of Josephus, a perpetual cause of perturbation for the state. Gentlemen, in this assembly this must entitle them to the highest glory, and, I may add, that Jesus Christ himself, considered as a great legislator and moralist, has derived the principles of Christian charity from the mild and pure rules of the sect of the Essenes; and yet, gentlemen, these very Jews, who proclaimed the abolition of slavery, who have conferred on christianity one of its most worthy titles to glory—these very Jews have themselves, in more recent times, been held as slaves even in christian countries. What emotions must not I experience in coming here to join my voice to those which are raised to demand the abolition of slavery; and permit me, gentlemen, without digressing from the subject of my discourse, to add, that the Jews were the first to abolish human sacrifices, and to turn away with horror from the shedding of human blood in their religious ceremonies; and yet at this moment in the east, in those very countries in which their religion, the basis of every other, was first proclaimed, a horrible calumny, resuscitated from the barbarian ages of the west, accuses them of shedding christian blood as a matter of religious duty, to moisten the unleavened bread of the Passover. It is true gentlemen; and I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging it, that in this country—civilized England—the nation, the press, the government, have shown themselves indignant at this base calumny.—(Loud cheers)—and I perceive from the approbation which you now manifest that you repudiate it with the contempt it deserves. Yes, persecution engendered slavery. Yes, all persecutions are akin to one another, and this was well understood by that venerable Bishop Gregoire, who, while he raised his voice in favour of the emancipation of the blacks, at the same time demanded the emancipation of the Jews. Well, gentlemen, in this assembly of christians, here is a Jew who demands for the blacks the complete abolition of slavery. His enthusiasm is equal to yours, and his words have been listened to by you with the most truthful sympathy. (Cheers.) Besides, is there a cause more worthy of public favour? When God created the first man and woman, after he had laid the foundations of a future society in these words, "increase and multiply," he said to man, displaying the whole of nature before him. This is thy patrimony, this is thy kingdom—earth, and all its animals, are submitted to thy power. But where do we find that the Creator has said, Upon this earth which I deliver over to thee; two races of men shall exist at the same time, the one absolute and master, because it has a white skin; the other a slave and obedient, because it has a black one? Two classes of the same creature shall be spread over the world, the one shall be called the class of the oppressors, the other the class of the oppressed. All shall possess the same life, and the same breath of life shall animate your bodies; but among you the one class shall cast the other's fetters, and shall sell their brethren in the public markets as brute beasts? (Cheers.) Gentlemen, the slavery of man by man is a perpetual crime against humanity. (Loud cheers.) Cast far from you those absurd accusations which would degrade one part of the creation. Persecutors are ever fertile in arguments to give a colour to their oppression. (Hear, hear.) The blacks, say they, are of a degraded nature—their degenerate race can never be raised to an equality

with us—(hear, hear,)—they cannot understand liberty—a maxim as false as it is immoral. It is slavery which degrades human nature, because liberty is its law, its patrimony; instead of keeping the blacks in a state of degradation, open for them the career which providence has given to all men; raise them to an equality with yourselves, and they will know how to preserve their level. Servitude occasions vice—it is not vice that is the cause of servitude. Would you wish an historical example in proof of this? Look at the country of the arts, of civilization, of letters. Look at Greece. (Loud cheers.) Oh, how noble, how grand, was she in her sacred times of liberty! What has she become in a state of servitude? Say, gentlemen, can you recognise in the Greek slave the descendant of Leonidas or Pericles? (Loud cheers.) Abolish slavery, proclaim equality, it is a noble and glorious mission. This glory, this mission, henceforth belongs to the alliance of two great nations, who, long divided by war, are now united in the cause of the civilization of the world. With what ecstacy, gentlemen, will the words of England and of France be received by the nations of the world! (Hear.) How sublimely have they been already re-echoed from that very continent of America where so many private interests oppose the emancipation of the blacks, and where so many generous hearts attend only to the sacred interests of humanity! See with what transport their representatives unite themselves in this hall to their brethren of England and France! Yes, we shall attain this glorious object by our holy alliance. (Cheers.) I say not this from vanity, but from a just, and honourable, and proud confidence. It is an incontrovertible truth. The united will of France and England proclaiming the equality of mankind, who could now resist? The united will of France and England, proclaiming the abolition of human slavery, what power could oppose an obstacle? Here, gentlemen, I pause. I will not trespass further on the attention you have so kindly extended to me, and I shall ever consider as the happiest day of my existence, that in which I have been permitted to give utterance to my sentiments in such an assembly as the present. I shall dwell with delight on the recollection; from this moment my life will acquire in my own eyes more consistence and more real importance than it has hitherto possessed.

M. ALCEDE LAURE, a member of the deputation from the French society, then addressed the assembly in French, Dr. Bowring, as in the former instances, translating it to the convention. M. Laure said that after the illustrious orators they had just heard, and whose sentiments and sympathies had been explained to the convention with so much talent and intelligence by Dr. Bowring, it perhaps might be deemed presumption on his part to be desirous of occupying that place from whence, for the last two days, so many of the illustrious men, both of Great Britain and America, had addressed the convention. But he felt the necessity imposed upon him in the name of the young magistracy of France, of which he was the organ, of addressing a few words to the convention to express the great interest he felt in the question. Yes, the time of the abolition of slavery was at hand. (Cheers.) The present memorable manifestation of the opinion of the world must at length affect the conscience of the governors of that world; and those who had now neither name, nor family, nor nation, would be reinstated in their name, their family, and their freedom; and that to the eternal honour of England it would be recorded to the remotest ages of the world, that that great assembly which had so nobly discussed the important question of slavery, assembled in 1840 in her metropolis—(Loud cheers)—and that the emancipation of the black and coloured races was accomplished in the 19th century, as the work of God through the progress of civilization.

Mr. Justice JEREMIE said, that now that the subject of French slavery, or rather of slavery in the West India colonies, was before the meeting, he proposed to address a few words to them on the subject. From having held office for some time in colonies formerly French, he had been closely connected with them, and was perfectly well acquainted with their laws and regulations, and he had no hesitation in saying that every reason which existed for the abolition of slavery in the British dependencies existed in equal force in the colonies of their neighbours.—(Loud cheers.) M. Isambert had said that the code now contained clauses for the benefit of the negro; but this was even an additional argument for the abolition of slavery, because these clauses had almost all been repealed by subsequent enactments, and those which remained had been rendered of no effect by popular prejudice. It was true the Code Noir allowed of the marriage of whites with blacks, but this enactment had been repealed by popular opinion. Even after the peace of Amiens—after opinions in favour of the rights of the negro had made considerable progress in France—a clause was inserted by which coloured people were permitted to leave property to the whites, but whites were prohibited from leaving property to coloured people.—(Cheers, and cries of Oh! oh!) The preservation of any distinction of colour, or of race, or the attempt to bolster up slavery by regulations under pretence of producing any amelioration in it, was vicious and erroneous.—(Loud cheers.) He knew that, because he had assisted at the introduction of such measures into our own colonies, and had witnessed their utter failure.—(Loud cheers.) The manufacturer of sugar in our colonies in which emancipation had taken place, was at a low ebb it was true, but why was it so? Because the labouring population found they could be more profitably employed in other ways. He would relate to them an instance which had come to his own knowledge of the effects produced by emancipation. He knew a gentleman in England, a slave-holder, and a supporter of the system of slavery; but this gentleman had acuteness to perceive that the system of slavery must eventually give way to public opinion; accordingly he prepared in time for the change which he knew was inevitable, and seven or eight years ago he went among the agricultural population of this country, and hired steady, industrious labourers, most of whom had certificates of character from the clergyman of the parish in which they resided, and many of whom had obtained prizes from different agricultural societies, he engaged these men as servants for seven years, and sent them out to his estates in the West Indies. He (Mr. Jeremie) had met him about ten days ago and asked him the result of his experiment. He replied that now two men did with the plough what it formerly took ten men to do with the hoe.—(Cheers.) This was one of the effects of immediate emancipation. (Cheers.) Before emancipation took place the advocates of it had acknowledged, had foreseen, had foretold, that one of its immediate effects would be the diminution of the sugar cultivation in the colonies. And why was this? Why, before the emancipation took place, how was the working population of the West Indies composed? One half of them consisted of women; and if these persons



were fit for freedom, they never, of course, would permit women to be employed in the labours of the field.—(Loud cheers.) The old system moreover was one of complete monopoly. Sugar was cultivated there for exportation; but shoes, chairs, tables, every household article, was obtained from home. This monopoly was now done away with. The negroes could go now where they thought it most for their advantage to purchase the articles they stood in need of. Although the exportation of the produce had diminished, everything that conduced to the interest, well-being, and comfort of the people had increased. That produce alone which was the result of coercion had diminished.—(Cheers.) He begged to bear his humble testimony to the efforts of M. Isambert. Never could he forget the effect produced by the able and eloquent address of M. Isambert. All that could be said on the subject had been said by him.—(Loud cheers.) It was only delicacy, he was convinced, being a distinguished member of a French court of judicature, which had prevented M. Isambert from stating to the convention, that while in England the name of Granville Sharpe was looked up to with veneration, as that of the first man who had proved that slavery could not co-exist with the British laws, forty or fifty years before that the French courts of judicature had established the same fact with regard to France. A negro had arrived in Paris in 1712; he applied to the courts of law as to his right of freedom, and the courts of France, after solemn deliberation, affirmed the right which he claimed.—(Loud cheers.) M. Cremieux, an Israelite, had addressed them, who yet had proved himself a Christian in every word that he had uttered, and in every sentiment he had expressed, distinguished as he was by his liberality and his splendid philanthropy.—(Loud cheers.) In him they had heard the author of some of the most splendid specimens of oratory of modern times.—(Loud cheers.)

Mr. O'CONNELL then rose and said, the kind indulgence he had experienced yesterday was an imperative reason why he should trespass as shortly on the attention of the convention as the duty he had to perform would permit. His purpose in rising was to propose that it should be referred to a committee to consider the proper form of an address to the French government and the French nation, on the subject of negro slavery. The learned and distinguished gentleman on his left had told them the condition of the negro was greatly ameliorated in the French West India colonies, and that there remained behind only one thing—the emancipation of the negro. He (Mr. O'Connell) thought that "one thing" was a rather considerable one—(cheers)—and that if they could get that they might easily forgive all the rest.—(Hear.) He had also told them that the French government had framed the most salutary regulations respecting the treatment of the negroes. There was a fable of Æsop which showed what that amounted to; for when the wolves were appointed protectors of the lambs, although the most salutary rules were framed, the wolves eat them.—(Hear, hear.) And this must really be the case with all regulations put into the hands of slave-holders. It was employing two-legged wolves to take care of lambs.—(Cheers.) The French colonies required one great thing—the emancipation of the negroes; every thing else was idle and nugatory. (Cheers.) Let them emancipate, and they will do all. Without it, if they did everything else, they would do nothing. He would now just advert to the situation of these colonies with respect to the slave population. He would first take Martinique. It was quite true, as had been stated, that the negroes there were emancipated during the French revolution; but it was rather on account of the absence of power to restrain their freedom than from any legal recognition of it. Bonaparte, after the treaty of Amiens, sent a large force to the West Indies to reconquer slavery, and compel the free to be enslaved again. There was a mighty charm in these military names; but he (Mr. O'Connell) could not help protesting against the praise of those who waded through slaughter to a bad eminence. Such men might swell the military glory of their country, but, in his opinion, they were the greatest enemies of civilization. (Cheers.) He mentioned the conquest of Martinique only to state this fact. The negroes, being freemen, were unwilling again to submit to slavery, and, as freemen should do, they defended themselves to the last. When about only 500 survived, these retreated to a mountain fort, which they defended until a French battalion had made a breach, and when they entered, the negroes blew up themselves and the battalion. (Hear, hear.) This showed they were quite safe in leaving to the negroes the protection of their own liberty. In Martinique they were, in 1837, 26,346 males, 39,666 females; yet the number of marriages in that year was only fifteen. The number of births was 2303. The number of deaths was 2592. Many of them knew that in Europe the population increased about 15 per cent. every ten years; but in this place there was a decrease of 289 in one year. Thus all those who in a proper state of society would have been born and brought up, in the West Indies were murdered in the womb, or strangled in the birth. (Hear, hear.) In Guadeloupe the number of males in the same year was 45,606, of females 48,985; of marriages 19; of births 1857; and of deaths 1883, being a decrease of 26. In Cayenne or Guiana the number of males was 8523; of females 7617; of marriages 43; of births 297; and of deaths 628, being a decrease of 331. In Bourbon the number of males was 43,763; of females 24,432; of marriages none; of births 1001; of deaths 2359, being a decrease of 1358. Being on the whole of these colonies a total of males 134,258; of females 120,700; of marriages 77; of births 5458; of deaths 7462; and of decrease in population of 2004. (Hear.) The French nation were a great nation—great in arts and arms, in science and in literature. The French people were naturally a proud people—we perhaps thought them a little vain also—(Laughter)—but they had much to be proud of. (Hear, hear.) He wished to place these facts in the presence of the French people—to show them these details—to show them the disgrace of continuing this system, and to call on and conjure them in the name of that passion for glory which they cherished to excess, and still more in the name of human nature and humanity, to terminate a system that produced abominations so disgraceful to a civilized people. (Loud cheering.) He would not trespass much longer on their time, but he could not help remarking, that the increase of the free population in these colonies in one year was 835; and this was still more remarkable, because there was not a child of a black woman in that increase; and this showed what the increase would really be, were all in a state of freedom, in the numbers of human beings enjoying life and liberty—of heirs to the same eternal redemption, who might do honour to mankind, and to the glory of God. (Hear, hear.) Oh, let France hear of this fact—no crime

had followed emancipation, no riot, no disturbance. The pen of calumny itself had not dared to charge them with a single outrage. The lash was scarcely dry with gore from the bleeding back of the negro when he was emancipated. Did he take it up and say, "My day is come, and now you shall endure what you have inflicted?" (Cheers.) No. He cast a generous and Christian oblivion over the crimes of white men, and stood emancipated, respecting the female sex, and with his soul free from the slightest taint of blood. (Loud cheering.) It was most consolatory to them, even to him, the humblest of them all, to witness this result. What had they got been threatened with? Oh! (it was said) don't emancipate the negro—he will violate our wives and daughters, and slaughter ourselves; we shall not be able to walk safely in the streets, or sleep securely in our beds. But it was now only that they slept in safety. He challenged the enemies of negro emancipation to point out to him a single instance of outrage. The imports of Jamaica were equal now to what they were previous to emancipation. What, then, was the excuse for France in continuing slavery? (Hear, hear.) Let her listen to this. Did it not prove that the French planter would be as safe as the English—that there would be no insurrection, no outrage—that property would be safe, as it now was, if she granted emancipation to her slaves? (Cheers.) He said this not from any selfish motive. The consequence of emancipation was greater comfort to the negro and greater security to the planter. (Hear, hear.) He wished that we had more sugar, but sweet as it was, it was sweeter still to reflect that if the negro did not make sugar for another, it was because he made something better for himself; but though this country required a greater supply, they would not consent to take that supply from the slave owner, or to be the consumers of the slave produce. (Cheers.) It would be a monstrous anomaly if they did. We should have given twenty millions for the purpose of encouraging other miscreants in the slave-trade. It would not be done. (Hear, hear.) But this was the proper moment for France to act. Let her emancipate her negroes, and then we would take French grown sugar. It would open another market for the produce of their colonies the moment they emancipated their slaves. But so long as they sowed injustice they must reap its bitter fruit, though the moment they took the position of justice and humanity, they would participate in its blessings. (Hear.) He thought that if they could but convince France they had made out their case, she would speedily join them and co-operate in the cause of humanity, and thus they would have gained another great and mighty nation to assist the cause. The slave-trade never could be abolished so long as slavery existed—(cheers)—human cupidity would break through every law—they would abolish the slave-trade not by combinations among themselves, by excluding one and taking another, but by combinations of great nations. It was this alone which could abolish the horrid trade of the miscreants of Cuba and Brazil, and of the greater monsters, the American slave-dealers. All these would sink into their native nothingness, before the combined majesty of the British and French nations, uniting in the great names of humanity, and combining for the liberation of the human race. (Loud cheers.) The honourable and learned gentleman concluded by moving the following resolution:—"That an address from this convention be transmitted to the French people, earnestly impressing upon them the impolicy of any longer tolerating the existence of slavery in their colonies; and that the following gentlemen form a committee to prepare such address—M. Isambert, Messrs. Alexander, Turnbull, Josiah Forster, and Dr. Bowring, with the mover and seconder."

Mr. L'INSTANT, a native of Hayti, who had resided for the last two years in Paris, then addressed the convention in French. His address was subsequently translated by Dr. Bowring. He said that he wished to lay before the convention a short account of the causes which led to the freedom of Hayti. At the commencement of the French revolution in 1789, the rights of man were proclaimed. The free coloured population of St. Domingo, which at the time was not known by the name of Hayti, demanded an equal participation in those rights. This was refused them. He would not now enter into a minute detail of the efforts of the colonists to render their claims abortive; suffice it to say that the collisions consequent upon them frequently produced scenes of bloodshed. A man whose name would be ever held in respect, Ogee, went to Paris for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain for them their rights. All the colonists, however, opposed his efforts to obtain them their liberty. He was refused what he sought for, and on his return the colonists seized him and racked him on the wheel. This act of oppression raised a spirit among the people of colour that nothing could extinguish, and true liberty broke out. During the course of this war the colonists had made arrangements to deliver the island into the hands of the English, because by their assistance they hoped to be enabled to continue the system of slavery. But the coloured men assembled together and drove out the English, and preserved the island as part of the French dominions. At that time Toussaint L'Ouverture, the greatest black man who had ever appeared, governed the island. At that time Napoleon Bonaparte, forgetful of the principles by which he had risen, sent out a navy and a fleet to reduce the inhabitants again to slavery. The negroes took arms to repel slavery, and not to escape the domination of the mother country, which they had no desire whatever to throw off. Dessalines then arose; he conferred on the men of colour the right of land-owners and of citizenship, and introduced such laws as the times required. Petion succeeded him, and in 1825, France, despairing of reducing Hayti to subjection, and actuated by the liberal views and principles she then entertained, acknowledged their independence. His principal object in addressing the convention was to show that the Haytians had taken arms by the necessity imposed upon them of repelling force by force, and not for any purposes of rebellion, and that all that had occurred was solely owing to the attempt of the French empire to deprive them of the liberty which they had before enjoyed.

M. D' ISAMBERT, for the honour of his country, was desirous that the French people should not be confounded with the French Government of that period. In 1789, the French nation had proclaimed the liberty of the blacks, and had sent out directions to the governor of Guadeloupe, Guiana, and the other colonies, to adopt measures for the regulation of that liberty. Napoleon, however, notwithstanding the resistance of the French people, who were always opposed to the St. Domingo expedition, seduced by his desire of imitating the example and the faults of England, attempted the conquest of St. Domingo, and in the attempt sacrificed one of the finest armies France had ever possessed—the army which had effected the conquest of Italy. France protested against this expedition, and by way of making reparation for the wrongs which her government had committed



since the restoration, she had settled a pension on the widow and children of Toussaint L'Ouverture.—(Cheers.)

Mr. SCOBLE said it was a fact which should not be lost sight of in connection with Hayti, that while the French government had recognized its independence, Great Britain at that moment had not done so.—("Shame.")

Mr. TURNBULL—We have a consul-general there.

Mr. SCOBLE was aware there was a representative of that kind, but at the present moment we were engaged in a treaty of commerce, and until this was ratified by both powers, their independence could not be said to be recognized by this country. Indeed, Lord Palmerston had admitted that such was the case, and explained it by saying that England had entered into a secret treaty with France not to recognize its independence till France should think fit.—(Hear, hear.)

Colonel MILLER said the only excuse of the American government for not recognising the independence of Hayti was, that if they did so they should have a black ambassador at Washington.—(Hear, hear.)

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The convention re-assembled at four o'clock, Mr. BIRNEY Chairman.

#### SLAVERY IN THE COLONIES OF HOLLAND AND SWEDEN.

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER.—Little was known in England of the state, the prospects or the amount of slavery in the Dutch colonies; it was only known, and that not to all, that slavery existed to a considerable amount in one colony, Surinam, and that it existed in a peculiarly severe manner. The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society determined to obtain information upon the subject, and within the last three months they had deputed him and Mr. James Whitehorn to proceed to Holland for that purpose. They laboured under considerable difficulties, because in the first place, they were unacquainted with the language of the people amongst whom they were to make inquiries; and those persons were very little, if at all acquainted with the subject upon which they wished to obtain information, and the subject itself created very little interest. Their first stay was in the city of Amsterdam; there they had considerable difficulty in obtaining information even of the number of slaves in the Dutch colonies, but they arrived at something like a close approximation to the truth at last. They were informed that the probable number of slaves in Surinam was about 50,000, but from more recent information, upon which he had every reason to rely, they amounted to 60,000 or 70,000. No doubt the truth was known to the Dutch Government, and he trusted some of their friends would arrive at the real truth. It was still more difficult to obtain the number of those in slavery in the other West India colonies of Holland, but it was probable the whole number might be from 100,000 to 120,000. It was a most interesting inquiry to enter upon to know what were the actual circumstances of that large slave population; upon that point he was obliged to confine himself to that in the island of Surinam. One of the most striking circumstances respecting that colony was, that it was generally understood that the average decrease of the slave population was not less than five per cent. per annum. (Hear.) A very small portion of that decrease might be attributed to running away, but from good authority he was assured that it was an extremely small portion; neither could the colonists say that the slave-trade had been recently abolished there. He found from inquiries that ten years ago the number of male and female slaves was very nearly equal, as those of younger years, and they remained so. The immense decrease was to be mainly attributed to the essential murderous nature of the system pursued in the slave cultivation of sugar, and particularly during the crop season. (Hear hear.) The excessive labour during that period was of such a nature that no human being could endure it without shortening his existence. (Hear, hear.) Another circumstance was the treatment suffered by the females while placed in a situation which required the utmost attention, and to the large number of children who died in early youth, doubtless from the want of that care which a mother only could supply. He regretted that they had been unable to obtain information respecting the means used for coercion in the colony, for no doubt they would do much towards hastening the abolition of slavery if they could have an exact account of all punishments, such as used to be kept in the English colonies. It was, however known, that the whip was used to both males and females, and he was informed that no slave in the colony was allowed to wear shoes; he only mentioned that in order to show the state of degradation in which the slave was kept. Lately there had been some ameliorations made in his condition. They were no longer to be separated from those whom they consider as their wives. But with respect to marriage it was hardly known—it would be sufficient for him to say that in 1830, in a slave population of 50,000, there were only two marriages—there was no legal marriage for slaves in the colony, it was not recognized. Then with regard to instruction, very little had been done—at least, if any, it was very little—and as regarded religious instruction, there had been a Moravian mission established for a long period, but for 40 years after they were allowed to establish themselves they had no opportunity of instructing a negro. At the end of 100 years they had made some progress, but it was very little, for then they were allowed to visit only 14 out of 500 plantations. Lately there had been established at the Hague a society for preaching the gospel amongst the slaves, and that society had access to 100 plantations; but to them they had only access monthly, and then great difficulties were thrown in their way with respect to their seeing the negro. Thus very little had been done for the population. In the society to which he had alluded at the Hague, he was sorry to say there was some proceedings to which he could not lend his sanction. Amongst their preachers they had 18 slaves, many of themselves belonged to the colony, and were proprietors of slaves; and he was afraid that very little would be done to carry their object into effect. All other ministers of religion were prohibited from visiting the island. The people in Holland, especially in Amsterdam, were very far from being in a satisfactory state in respect to the abolition question. He had met with a very few instances of cordial support in a population exceeding 200,000. He was most sorry to say also that on the part of some ministers of religion there had been a most striking unwillingness to take any part in the good work. It was true, the subject was perfectly new, and let them hope that when it became better known and more studied, their consciences would tell them what their duty was. The next place they visited was Utrecht, and in that city he only saw one gentleman who

took any interest in the question—that gentleman was professor Tiedman, and he indeed took a lively interest in the matter. He then went to Leyden, and among the few he saw there, he was most happy to say there was no difference of opinion whatever as to what their duty was with respect to the abolition of slavery. They then proceeded to the Hague, and there, he had an opportunity of meeting about thirty persons of distinction, to whom he had explained the principles and objects of the society, and he fully believed that considerable good had been done. They then went to Rotterdam, and there found some very zealous friends of the cause of abolition. They consisted of the Episcopal minister, the Independent minister, and two Scotch ministers. Through their instrumentality a meeting was held, which was numerously attended. He addressed the meeting, and pointed out to them the very beneficial results which had followed the abolition of slavery in the English colonies. After the meeting the junior Scotch minister said he was very sorry the proceedings were over, because he would have had much pleasure in proposing to form a society in connexion with the British and Foreign abolition society of London. He (Mr. Alexander) said if they wished to form a committee it was not then too late. A committee was instantly formed and the work begun. He had heard frequently from Holland since his visit, and the general impression on his mind was that the subject of slavery had made considerable progress—that it would receive the attention of the people of Holland, with a view to its abolition. At the same time he did not conceal from himself that great doubts existed as to the propriety of immediate emancipation; and he was extremely anxious that the public mind in Holland should be enlightened on the subject. Still he looked at that land with great hope, notwithstanding all he had said, and he had no doubt that many would be raised up to perfect the great work, as had been the case in England. That was all he had to say in regard to Holland. The society were anxious to extend their inquiries into the slave system as related to Sweden. Within a few weeks after returning from Holland, knowing that the diet was then sitting, and that its sittings occurred once in five years, he thought that that was a good opportunity for carrying out the objects of the society, and immediately set out for Stockholm. Very little had been known with respect to the slaves supposed to be held under Sweden. On inquiring in Stockholm, he was informed that the general belief was that they amounted to from 2000 to 3000; but many people in Stockholm believed that there were no slaves at all in St. Bartholomew's island; however, before he left, he had good reason to believe that the numbers were between 800 and 900. Of course, his statement showed that the question had excited very little attention in Sweden; but upon his informing them of the objects of their society, a great deal of what he might call English feeling was immediately excited with reference to slavery. He was present at the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society, and he had the positive promise of a professor there, that the question should immediately be brought before the diet, and he had very good reason to believe that the Crown Prince was decidedly favourable to their cause, so also was the Archbishop of Sweden. There was, however, one peculiarity about the island, for although nominally belonging to Sweden, it was the actual property of the king. The diet, therefore, had no power in the matter, but, no doubt, if they were heartily engaged in the cause, and if they were willing to promote any plan for carrying out the principle of abolition,—no doubt that would have great effect upon the king's mind. The convention would readily apprehend that he had but very little information to give as to the condition of the slaves, but, as in all other cases, they were exceedingly neglected. He could not boast much of his efforts, but still his humble opinion was, that those visits abroad had been of very great good to the cause of abolition. He believed that the period was fast approaching when slavery would cease throughout the world. The exertions of the abolitionists would be crowned with success, assisted as their cause had been by the glorious abolition of slavery in England. (Hear, hear, hear.) A slave-holder told him that formerly they were afraid of the blacks, but now they were afraid of the whites, and good reason they would have. Believing that the blessing of God would continue to rest upon their labours, he could not join in the despondency expressed by some of their members. He firmly believed that the period was fast hastening when slavery would cease, and an immense amount of human happiness be the result. Then pure morality, and that religion in which they all believed, which was the root and foundation of their proceedings, should be no longer tarnished by the stain of cruel and inhuman slavery, which for centuries had disgraced it. (Hear, hear.)

J. WHITEHORNE, Esq., of Bristol, said he would not have troubled the convention, had his respected colleague not seemed to have forgot one or two points. No such relationship subsisted amongst the slaves in Surinam as marriage created—it was not recognised by law at all. The Moravians had been there 100 years, but the greatest difficulties were thrown in their way, and during the whole 100 years not a single slave had been converted. (Hear, hear.) They must not blame the ministers, but the masters. One thing was most important—from forty to fifty of the plantations in Surinam belonged to Englishmen resident in this country. They had a hold then upon forty or fifty persons in England who were slave-holders. Let them bring public opinion to bear upon them, and they would act practically and at once. (Hear.)

Mr. SCALES said, it was important that the convention should know that the gentleman who had just sat down was formerly a resident in Jamaica, and a slave-holder. He believed it was a fact, that instead of putting into his own pocket the compensation money for those who were in bondage, he gave it to those who had been slaves. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. HOLLAND wished to know whether the slaves in the Dutch colonies had any of them obtained their manumission, and whether there were in those colonies any free persons of colour?

Mr. ALEXANDER said that there were free persons of colour there, but with regard to the manumission he could not speak.

Captain MOORSOM, R.N. of Birmingham, then rose to propose the next resolution, which was as follows:—

"That a committee be appointed to prepare a report of the present state of slavery in the Dutch colonies, together with an address to the people of Holland upon the duty and advantages of seeking its immediate abolition." Committee to prepare the address—G. W. Alexander, Esq., the Rev. John Keep, and James Whitehorne, Esq.

The Hon. Mr. SPRAGUE, of the Massachusetts legislature, seconded the resolution.



## MAHOMEDAN SLAVERY.

Dr. BOWRING then rose to call the attention of the convention to the state of slavery in Mahomedan countries. His first feeling and desire was to appeal to the candour of all present, and to ask them to deal indulgently with them while he led them into lands into which, perhaps, less than any other, attention to the abolition of slavery had been directed—into lands where that which existed forty centuries ago existed now, and where would be found those beautiful and faithful stories of holy writ, palpable to the touch, and visible to the sight.—(Cheers.) If they went into Syria, Arabia or Egypt, in the desert they would find many a patriarch, with his houses, his camels, his servants, his bondmen, and bondwomen.—(Hear.) Among those who accepted some of the highest official situations in the east, there were many who had reached them through the door of slavery, and many a Joseph existed there whose history would be well worthy of study. It was true that Babylon had been swept away, and that in Tyre and Sidon the only activity that existed was in the lizard, and the newt, and the scorpion; but still there was Jerusalem, and Damascus, and Antioch, and Nazarus, and Alexandria, and Smyrna, and Sychar. They were as great and as illustrious as ever.—(Cheers.) The Mahomedan law recognized the law of Judaism, and he was bound to say, in reproach of the christian character and conduct, that the Mahomedan oppression was not so severe upon the slave as that of the professing christian.—(Cheers.) The law of the Koran recommended the slave to the humanity of the Musselman, and inasmuch as it did honour to that people, he trusted that he might be allowed to refer to that which was stated by him whom they called the prophet. What did they say? Why, show kindness to your parents, friends to orphans, the poor, the stranger, the traveller, and the captive, for Allah loveth not the pride of vain-glory. In another passage he opened the door to the manumission of Mahomedan slaves. He says, that unto such of your slaves as desire a written proof that they may redeem themselves from it, if you have found them faithful, give them of your wealth which God has given you. Again, marry those whom ye possess, who are true believers. Ye are of common origin. Marry them with the consent of their masters, and give them their dower according to justice; and if they sin, let them be only punished with half the punishment inflicted on the free—this, because the slave was not supposed to have had the same benefits of instruction. He was willing to admit that what was right and what was elevated in the Mahomedan law was first taken from Christianity and Judaism; but he was also compelled to acknowledge that the Mahomedans obtained more influence by their directions than those did whose authority was higher and sanction nobler. If they would allow him, he would refer to a beautiful tradition among the Mahomedans, which had a great effect upon their temper and conduct. There was a verse in the Koran which said, "Paradise is prepared for those who bridle their anger, and forgive men; Allah loveth the beneficent." (Cheers.) The story which every Mahomedan child had heard from his youth, was to the following effect:—"Hassan-ben-Ali had a slave, who threw over him, at table, a dish boiling hot. Fearing his master's resentment, he threw himself on his knees before him, and said, 'Paradise is for those who bridle their anger.' Hassan answered, 'I am not angry.' The slave added, 'And who forgive.' I forgive you," said Hassan. "Allah loveth the beneficent," continued the slave. "I give you your liberty," said his master." (Cheers.) Was there not, he would ask, in that tradition, instruction of the most eloquent and beautiful description? There was one circumstance connected with the east that was peculiarly interesting, and that was—that there they knew of no distinction of colour, they had no nobility of skin. (Cheers.) White men of the highest rank married black women, and black men frequently occupied the highest social and official situations. At the present moment, the Scherif of Mehemet Ali was as black as a raven. He had over and over again, on the Nile, seen the Nubian commanding the white men of northern Egypt, and again and again he had seen in the east the black men domineering it over their white dependents, and he recollected on one occasion, a black man in an Egyptian regiment, having had his leg amputated by Clot Bey, and when he expressed his surprise at not hearing any exclamations of pain, his answer was, "Do you think that a black man can bear pain no better than the white man can?" (Cheers.) The slavery of the east was not the slavery of the field, but the household. In the dispensations of providence in those countries where slavery formed part of the social organization, the Divine Being had tempered the wind to the shorn lamb. (Cheers.) The slaves were cared for with affection and tenderness in those countries where the people were swept away in thousands by pestilence of the most cruel character. He knew himself the case of a Mahomedan governor, who, of seventy children had lost sixty-nine; and the result of such occurrences often was the cause of the affections of the Mahomedans being placed upon the children they bought, who became part of their household. (Cheers.) The slave there was not regarded as a degraded being, inasmuch as slavery was no impediment to his reaching the highest social elevation. (Cheers.) He believed that three-fourths of the divan of Constantinople consisted of men stolen in their youths, and who were wholly unacquainted with their early history, the scenes of their childhood, or even the place of their birth. Such was the state of things in the east, and very different indeed was the condition of the slave there to those who were dependent upon christian masters. But they must not suppose that from what he had stated, that the state of slavery was not deplorable in the east. It was the great impediment to civilization, instruction, and civil liberty, and he believed it might be shown that the present condition of the Caliphate, whose race was run, and its destinies accomplished, might be traced to the pollution, the degradation, the misery, and the ruin which the principles of slavery everywhere introduced. He had spoken of the weakness of the Caliphate, because, he thought out of that weakness a good opportunity was offered to them of doing great good in the Levant. (Cheers.) The Mahomedan influence, represented by the sword and the book, was passing away, the Christian powers were sovereigns of Constantinople and the Ottoman empire, and not the Sultan, and he trusted that some appeal would be made by that meeting in order to show them the influence they possessed and exercised, and if there was, he believed that influence would be found not to have been exercised in vain. He was quite convinced that if, at the present moment, the influence of the Christian powers was properly used at Constantinople, something might be obtained. Throughout the whole of Syria, children were constantly lost, their parents were robbed of them by one perfidious pirate or another, who sold them to slavery, and the Jews—the

unfortunate Jews were always branded with the name of the robbers. When a child was lost in that country, it was immediately referred to some unhappy Jew. Christian and Musselman both agreed that the Jew was the child robber, and it was in consequence of those charges that the persecution of the Jews at Damascus had its origin.—(Hear, hear, hear.) But then what was to be done? Was such a state of things to continue in the Holy Land? Were those usages which probably were in existence before the time of Abraham never to be removed? Did it not become the Christian powers to do something to put an end to such abominations—something to elevate the tone of the Mahomedan mind—something to show, that in the abolition of slavery, all nations and religions had a common interest, and were bound and determined to unite in common co-operation for so holy a purpose? His belief was, that much might be done if the proper means were resorted to. When he was honoured by a mission to the east, by her majesty's government, he had to bring the whole question of slavery to the notice of the present ruler of Egypt. He need not describe the slave-trade to the meeting. He need not tell them how much of money or how much of blood was scattered over every track over which the slave passed. He had seen slavery at its birth-place, and he believed that it might be checked there, if that society directed its energies aright. It might be attacked in its cradle, and if it were, he was sure that the society would be found to be a Hercules strong enough to strangle the serpent of slavery. (Cheers.) He looked upon eastern Africa with peculiar interest, because he believed the means of action there were far greater than in the western states; and while he earnestly desired that every effort should be made in the west, he could not but think that the east presented greater facilities and greater promise of important results. One portion of eastern Africa, as they were aware, was Christian, and a large portion of it was Mahomedan; but Christian and Mahomedan as they were, he was bound to say that the christianity was that of a barbarous nation, and that if they wished to see christianity in its higher excellence, they must assist it with all the development of mind and intellect; and that country certainly offered some elements to work upon. He had occasion to represent to the viceroy of Egypt, accompanied by Colonel Campbell, that it would do his Highness much honour, and elevate his name among European nations, if he would endeavour to check the atrocity committed by troops who owned him as their Sovereign.—(Cheers.) He held in his hand a report which, as Lord Palmerston had had the kindness to permit it to be communicated to Mr. Fowell Buxton, with reference to his own exertions; he might be permitted to read at the present meeting. He would only call their attention to a fragment of that report, which represented what took place at the interview between Mehemet Ali, Colonel Campbell, and himself. The worthy doctor then read part of the report of this interview with Mehemet Ali. In another part of that report, he had stated, that he was confident it would be possible, by direct negotiation, to obtain the concurrence of the Pascha of Egypt, the most influential of Mahomedan sovereigns, and the only one rising in influence. He had no doubt whatever that it would be possible to obtain his concurrence and aid, to co-operate for the abolition of slavery in eastern climes.—(Hear, hear, hear.) The sufferings of the blacks in eastern Africa were beyond all description. Again and again he had seen the caravans coming over the desert, the slaves naked and exhausted, and telling tales of those who had perished in the way. In fact, the slave trade in that country was the curse of the human race there, but he trusted by the exertions of the society, and the good sense of the rulers of the different nations of the earth, the time was not far distant when its name would be remembered no longer. (Cheers.)

Mr. JOSEPH SAMS, of Darlington, proposed the next resolution. Having sometime ago visited the whole of the interesting countries to which his friend, the worthy doctor, had alluded, he begged to unite with him in the statements he had made, as to the state of slavery in eastern Africa, and to corroborate what he had said with respect to it not being carried on in that cruel manner, in which it was in the dominions of the christians. He believed that the blacks were a greatly maligned race, for in all his travels he had always met with the greatest kindness from them, while, on the other hand, the Arabs had shown themselves to be treacherous in the extreme. The worthy gentleman concluded by proposing the following resolution:—

"That a committee take into consideration the best way of contributing to the suppression of slavery in the Mahomedan states, and that Dr. Bowring, Rev. James Carlisle, Rev. James Ackworth, A. M. and Rev. J. Bennett, (Northampton) be such committee.

The Rev. J. BURNET, of Camberwell, seconded the resolution.

WEDNESDAY, June 17th.

J. BLAIR, Esq., in the chair.

At the commencement of the proceedings this day

J. SCOBLE, Esq., said, he had been requested to introduce the subject of foreign slavery. It was unfortunately too true, that since the abolition of the slave-trade by this country, it had greatly increased in other countries, as in Brazil and Cuba. He entered into a variety of minute calculations to exhibit the extent of the traffic.

Dr. MADDEN then brought before the convention, in an elaborate and deeply interesting paper, the subject of Spanish slavery. Having read the document, Dr. Madden begged to introduce to the convention a gallant officer, who had been the first to take upon himself the responsibility of detaining vessels under American flags, engaged in the slave-trade. (Loud cheering.) He then introduced

Lieutenant FITZGERALD, R.N., who was received with the most cordial cheering, and proceeded to state that, having found at the Havana two vessels under American colours, he sent a boat with an officer aboard, who took possession of one for the night, but they had great doubts as to seizing her, from the extreme tenacity of the American government on the subject. Another officer, however, thought differently, and took the vessel to the mixed court, which refused to deal with it. He found, however, circumstances of so suspicious a nature, that he determined to take the vessel to New York, and have it dealt with by the American authorities. (Cheers.) Whereupon the captain confessed that she was in every respect Spanish, and that he had only been hired to give it an American colour. (Hear, hear, hear.) In another week this American captain stated he should have had 350 negroes on board, and would the convention believe that the vessel was one of 36 British tons, and that the space between decks was but two feet six inches. (Loud expressions of horror.) In another case he found that many



negros had been shot like dogs—(hear, hear)—and he took the miscreants to New York, where, he was bound to say, the attorney-general issued warrants for their arrest, but after a delay of four months, he (Lieutenant Fitzgerald) had been forced to leave New York, where he had been treated with the greatest cordiality by the friends of abolition, and, of course, assailed by every abuse from the slave-owners. (Hear, hear.) He had waited upon the head of the American government, and on informing him how he had taken upon himself the vindication of the American flag, he thanked him.

Mr. STURGE just wished to state, that Dr. Madden, who had just read such a valuable paper on the horrors of slavery in Cuba, was about to return thither in an official capacity, as protector of liberated Africans. (Cheers.) Could there be a stronger instance of devotion to the cause? (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. KENNEDY moved:—

“That Dr. Madden be respectfully requested to place the statement now read in the hands of the following gentlemen, who are hereby appointed a committee, to translate it into the Spanish language for circulation; Dr. Madden, Mr. G. W. Alexander, and Mr. D. Turnbull.

The venerable Mr. Clarkson took the chair for a short time in the course of the morning.

Mr. FOWELL BUXTON said he was anxious to assure the convention of the cordiality with which he regarded their proceedings. Far be from him the littleness of mind which should view with jealousy their exertions, because he was connected with the other society for the extinction of the slave-trade; on the contrary, he considered that both societies were directed to the same object; and though pursuing different lines, might yet materially assist each other. (Cheers.) The diminution of the supply of negros had a close connexion with the suppression of the demand—(hear, hear)—and the extinction of slavery would go hand in hand with the abolition of the slave-trade.

Mr. J. G. BIRNEY begged permission to ask Mr. Buxton to put an end to the impression which he was aware prevailed, that he was favourable to the scheme of the colonization society—(hear, hear)—which was most detrimental to the abolition cause in America. (Hear.)

Mr. FOWELL BUXTON said he was surprised that it should be necessary for him to state that to the plan of the colonization society he was directly opposed. (Cheers.) He considered it a gross delusion; at the same time he must in candour state that the interior of Africa presented great facilities for colonization. (Hear.)

Lieutenant FITZGERALD wished to say, that of the advantages of colonization by free negros he thought great use might be made under some circumstances. (Hear.)

A MEMBER wished to ask of Lieutenant Fitzgerald whether it was not the fact that slavers were refitted at Liberia, and whether they were not provided there with whips and shackles. He wished to ask whether it was not the fact that the most notorious of the slave dealers on the western coast of Africa had an establishment at Liberia to facilitate the carrying on of this nefarious traffic. (Hear, hear.)

Lieutenant FITZGERALD said he had never heard of slavers being refitted at Liberia, or obtaining supplies there; but he should not be surprised if that were the case, in consequence of the weakness of the colony. But he was satisfied that a slaver would have as little chance there as at Sierra Leone. (Hear, hear.) He had never heard of shackles being supplied there to slavers. He had never heard of the establishment of De Souza; but such was the rapidity with which the system of slavery was now carried on, that it was impossible for the governor of that colony to prevent it in every instance. He knew of a case in which a slaver from Cuba got on board a cargo of 450 slaves in four hours. He himself had once been out with his boats four days, looking after some slavers, whom he understood were on the coast. Seeing some vessels in the mud he landed, and having proceeded some distance he was soon surrounded by 40 or 50 natives, amongst whom was the king's brother. He asked them for information, respecting the slavers, and they refused to give him any. He asked the king's brother (who spoke as good English as he, Mr. Fitzgerald, did) whether he was not ashamed of himself for screening such atrocious traffickers? To which the prince answered—“that he was not all ashamed of it, that he owed no allegiance to Queen Victoria, and there were no laws against it in Africa.” It was a fact, that from the river Bonny above 30,000 slaves were sent out last year.

Mr. BUXTON wished to explain that what he had said was, that the colony was injurious to the coloured population of America, although it might be useful to the people of Africa.

Mr. J. G. BIRNEY disliked as much as any one to occupy the time of the meeting, but he had some information to communicate on the subject before the meeting. He believed that the governors of the colony of Liberia were clear of every connexion with the slave-trade. But they had not been able to keep the colony equally exempt from the stain. In proof of this, he read an extract from a pamphlet entitled “the colonization scheme considered, in its rejection by the coloured people—in its tendency to uphold caste—and in its unfitness to christianise and civilise the aboriginal inhabitants of Africa,” &c. The tendency of the extract was to show that slavery was to a great extent supported or connived at by a portion of the colonists.

Mr. J. J. PRICE said, that before the question was put he wished to make one or two observations respecting the state of slavery in the island of Cuba. He had considerable acquaintance with the copper manufacturers of South Wales, and he believed that such of them as were proprietors of copper mines in Cuba persuaded themselves that they were not slave owners. The manner in which their mines were worked was this: the slaves were hired from their owners at the rate of ten dollars per month each. He had received that information from a Cornish miner, who had been employed in superintending those slaves; and told him that he was shocked to see the way in which those poor creatures were treated. He once saw a woman receive two hundred lashes with a long whip, which drew the blood at every lash. He also knew an instance of a man who was threatened with a flogging, and hanged himself to avoid the punishment. The British owners of copper mines had a fine opportunity of putting down the practice of employing slaves in Cuba. They could at the same expense of £25. a year, (besides food and clothing) for each person, surround themselves with free labourers. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOHN STURGE wished to ask Dr. Madden a question in reference to the condition of the free coloured population of Cuba. He found it

stated in Admiral Fleming's evidence before the house of commons that free labourers and slaves were employed together, and that the planters found it equally their advantage to employ either.

Dr. MADDEN replied that it was not the fact that free labourers were employed in the growing of cotton or sugar in Cuba. Some few of the country people were employed in the tobacco plantations on the sea coast, but certainly not in the interior of the country. (Hear, hear.)

At two o'clock the meeting adjourned till four.

Shortly after the chairman had resumed his seat at four o'clock, in consequence of a heavy shower of rain falling, one of the waiters of the tavern, named Nunney, was sent round to close the windows, in the upper part of the hall. Mr. Turnbull had just risen to address the meeting, when the unfortunate man, in endeavouring to pass round one of the buttresses, lost his footing, and was precipitated to the ground, a height of nearly thirty feet. In his fall he struck Mr. Isaac Bass, of Brighton, who was sitting close to the spot. The accident created an appalling sensation in the hall, which at the time was extremely crowded, most of the delegates having taken their seats. The unfortunate man, Nunney, was carried out in a state of insensibility, and Mr. Bass, who was able to walk between two friends, was removed to another room.

The CHAIRMAN said it would be impossible to proceed to business immediately, in consequence of the lamentable accident that had just occurred, and he should therefore take the liberty of suggesting that they sit in silence for a few minutes.

#### AFRICAN SLAVERY.

Mr. TURNBULL said he came forward for the purpose of continuing the discussion of the morning, and to propose for the adoption of the convention, a plan for the suppression of the African slave-trade. Soon after the appearance of his work, the Secretary of State for foreign affairs had done him the honour of addressing a letter to him, requesting him to lay before the government, the plan which he proposed to adopt. In consequence he had done so, and he did not think he could pursue a better course than to read it to the meeting.

He was sure that he need not go further into the details; but he would, with the permission of the meeting, just advert to what was said of his suggestions in the *Westminster Review*, a work of high authority. In that work, there was an article on Mr. Buxton's book, in which that *Review* tore both Mr. Buxton and himself to pieces; but he had admitted that if his (Mr. T.'s) plan could be brought into operation, it would be effectual; and the only objection he had to it was, that he thought the Spanish government would not agree to it. Now, though the authority of that *Review* was high, he could not agree with it, for he was convinced that Spain would adopt it; and if it did, the reviewer admitted that by it the value of the slave would be destroyed, and that encouragement to deal in them would be done away with. He had a collection of reviews, which had been furnished him by his bookseller; but he would not trouble the meeting by reading them, as it would be sufficient for him to say they were all favourable to the plan he had brought forward. If it was consistent with the views of the convention, he should propose three things; first, an address from the convention to the Spanish government and people, pressing the plan upon their attention. He should next propose an address to the French government, asking them to press the subject on the Spanish government. (Hear, hear.) He had spoken with the king of the French with respect to it, and he was happy to say he was very much disposed to forward it. Thirdly, he should propose an address from that convention to the government of the Queen of this country, praying that it would direct that the foreign office, which it was difficult to move, should consider the subject. He could not understand from Lord Palmerston whether he approved of the plan or not. (Cheers.)

Judge JEREMY felt extreme reluctance to appear before them two days successively, but he felt called upon to say a few words on the subject. Mr. Turnbull's intentions all present viewed to be excellent; his talents were eminent, and his zeal was surpassed by none; it was, therefore, with great regret that, while he acknowledged the importance of the plan, he felt bound to doubt its success. Now what was that plan? Why, precisely the one they had at the Mauritius, which did not succeed. In that country they had excellent judges, of the public prosecutor, they might judge for themselves.—(Loud cheers.) And yet they had not succeeded in abolishing slavery, for all the public officers there must shut their eyes to what was going on. How therefore could it be possible to adopt there the plan proposed by Mr. Turnbull? There was another objection he entertained, which was to the principle of the plan, and there perhaps rested the objection of the foreign office. What were they aiming at by the present proposal? Why, to induce the Spanish Government to allow foreign judges to determine rights of property arising within their own territories.—(Cheers.) The king of the French Mr. Turnbull had said seemed inclined to favour his plan. Now how did they stand with respect to them? Why, the king of the French would not allow foreigners to try French subjects on board French vessels, indeed, he would not even allow them to be tried by a mixed commission.—(Cheers.) Although he admired the principle developed in the plan of Mr. Turnbull, looking at what had taken place in the Mauritius, he felt bound to say that it did not deserve the name of a panacea for the abolition of slavery over the whole world.—(Cheers.)

Mr. STURGE felt bound to say a few words on the proposal of his friend, Mr. Turnbull, believing that it was perfectly consistent with the principles of that society to take it up.—(Cheers.) Whether it could be carried out or not, was another question; but he did think that the convention was bound to endeavour as far as possible to get the principle asserted, either by English or foreign authorities.—(Cheers.) As he understood the purport of Mr. Turnbull, it amounted to this, that a system of registration should be adopted in slave countries which would throw the *onus probandi* upon the owners of slaves, to show the slave was his, and not that the slave should be obliged to prove his freedom.—(Cheers.) That, in his opinion, was a great point to be accomplished; but he would carry it further. He thought that the treaty with Cuba ought to be carried out to the letter, and that whenever a master could not prove a man his slave, he should be set free.—(Cheers.)

Mr. W. D. CREWSON was afraid of sacrificing principles to something like expediency, which would afford a shelter under which their enemies might entrench themselves. He thought the proposition of Mr. Turnbull was one which ought to be considered well before it was rejected.



Dr. BOWRING could not but consider that the convention was not at that moment prepared to address the governments of Great Britain, France, and Spain, on so important a subject, but thought however, that the subject was one well worthy of the consideration of a committee. With respect to Spain, he could not forget that twenty years ago there was a great desire in that country to abolish the slave-trade. He was present when several resolutions were passed in that country, declaring the necessity of abolishing slavery; but those resolutions were passed by as the idle wind which was not regarded.—(Cheers.) He did not think they would do their friend Mr. Turnbull justice, unless they lent an attentive ear to his proposal, and examined it in all its bearings. He should therefore move that the plan of slave-trade suppression submitted by Mr. Turnbull be referred to a committee, consisting of Mr. Joseph Sturge, Mr. Birnie, Mr. Jeremie, Mr. Josiah Conder, Dr. Bowring, William Forster, Dr. Madden, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Price, to consider and report thereon.

Mr. JOSIAH CONDER thought the proposition of Mr. Turnbull, as a subsidiary measure, was well worthy the attention of the convention, and on that ground he should second the resolution for the appointment of a committee to consider the subject, and to report thereon.

The Rev. Mr. HARVEY thought if they left the high ground and principle they had assumed, and consented to adopt a plan that only went to alleviate slavery instead of its total extinction, they would lose the moral influence they now possessed to put an end to the system altogether. (Cheers.) He would therefore give no countenance to any plan that recognized the existence of slavery at all. (Cheers.)

Mr. STURGE would have been sorry indeed to have given his assent to any proposition which might have the effect of impeding or injuring the great object they had in view, namely, the total extinction of slavery over the face of the whole world. He believed that Mr. Turnbull's plan would have no such effect, and he therefore thought it their duty to consider it well before they either adopted or rejected it.

Dr. MORRISON said that there was a great principle in the movement itself. Such propositions as these, were what he expected to come out of the convention, and he thought, therefore, they ought to be well considered. He considered that the moral influence of the convention would be felt more by foreign powers than any of the protocols that had been issued by the government. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. SAMUEL SOUTHALL, of Leominster, was afraid if they took the course now proposed, they would in some degree be listening to expediency. If he understood the proposition it was to adopt a system of registration by which slavery would be modified, and if that was so, he could not but think they ought to do nothing to compromise their principles.

The Rev. N. COLVER agreed with Mr. Harvey that if they adopted the plan proposed by Mr. Turnbull, they would lose their moral influence, as they would sanction slavery by it for a season. Now what they wanted was immediate emancipation, and that alone. (Cheers.)

Dr. BOWRING said that the reference of this proposition to a committee did not pledge the convention to its approval.—(Cheers.) All he desired was, that the committee should be charged with the duty of inquiring whether the proposition was consistent with the great principles the convention acted upon.—(Cheers.) Many whose opinions he respected, thought there was a great deal in the plan, and therefore he considered that they ought not to reject it hastily. The committee would have to report during the sitting of the convention, and therefore the whole subject might be brought before them.

FRANCIS BARKER, Esq., of Pontefract, thought they ought to stick to the great principles they had set out with, and not enter into subjects of minor consideration.

The Rev. J. KENNEDY, of Aberdeen, said that it had struck him in the course of the present discussion that two mistakes existed in the minds of those who had opposed Mr. Turnbull's plan. They had at first considered it as one for the abolition of slavery instead of the slave-trade. Now his plan was to render the slave-trade of little value, by making the possession of them insecure, and thereby making the traffic less profitable.

The Chairman then put the resolution to the meeting, and declared it to be carried unanimously.

The report of the committee on American papers was brought up, and on the motion of John Backhouse, Esq., seconded by W. D. Crewdson, it was resolved, that the replies to the queries of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society on slavery in the United States, furnished by the committee of the American Anti-slavery Society, containing most valuable and very important information, be now received, and referred to the publication committee to publish the whole or such parts as they may deem expedient.

It was then proposed and resolved,

That a committee be appointed consisting of the following gentlemen, William Forster, Esq. and J. T. Price, Esq., to prepare a memorial to Government deprecating and strongly reprobating the holding of slaves by British functionaries abroad.

On the motion of Dr. BOWRING, seconded by the Rev. Mr. Scales, the following resolutions were also agreed to:—

“Resolved—That this meeting has learnt with deep interest the measures adopted by the viceroy of Egypt for the suppression of the abominable slave-hunts by his highness' troops, and especially the declaration of his wish to aid in bringing about the extinction of slavery. That the thanks of this meeting be communicated to him, with the assurance that the friends of civilization throughout the world will hail with delight every step taken by the viceroy on furtherance of his just and generous purposes, whether by impeding the importation of and the traffic in slaves, by the encouragement of agricultural productions in central and eastern Africa, by the abolition of the slaves-market in his dominions, or by any other legitimate and pacific measures which may facilitate the manumission of slaves and the entire overthrow of slavery.

“That the present moment, when the European governments are exercising so great an influence in the affairs of the Ottoman empire, is peculiarly favourable to their intervention for the suppression of slavery in the regions of the east; and that a memorial be presented to lord viscount Palmerston, entreating his lordship's assistance in obtaining such declarations from the Sultan as are likely to lead to the entire suppression of slavery in the countries subjected to his government.”

On the motion of Mr. R. ALLEN, seconded by the Rev. J. H. HINTON, resolved:—

“That the Rev. T. Swan, Captain Moorsom, Dr. Madden, Peter Clare, I. Crewdson, J. H. Tredgold, R. Peek, J. G. Birney, W. Forster, W. Smeal, G. Bradburn, D. Turnbull, J. C. Fuller, and J. Murray, Esqs., be appointed a committee to inquire, whether manacles for slaves are manufactured in this country; whether large quantities of inferior fire arms are manufactured in Great Britain to be sold to the Africans for their slave-wars; whether cotton goods of a particular fabric, and to a large amount are manufactured in this country, and solely intended for being used in barter for African slaves; whether persons in England hold shares in Brazilian or other mines, which are worked by slaves; and whether any British joint stock banks have branch establishments in countries in which the slave-trade prevails. Also, into the quantities of gunpowder exported from any port or ports in Great Britain to Africa and other parts of the world respectively.

The convention then adjourned, it being half-past eight o'clock, till Thursday, at ten o'clock.

THURSDAY, JUNE 18.

J. STURGE, Esq., in the chair.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES, of Birmingham, read the following report on church discipline as connected with slavery:—

The committee to whom was referred the paper of Mr. Godwin “On the essential sinfulness of slavery,” with instructions to propose resolutions thereon, taking the resolution of the Rev. Charles Storrel as the basis, take leave respectfully to recommend to the convention the adoption of the following:—

Resolved—That the paper of the Rev. Benjamin Godwin “On the essential sinfulness of slavery” be recommended to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society for publication.

Resolved—That it is the deliberate and deeply-rooted conviction of this convention, which it thus publicly and solemnly expresses to the world, that slavery, in whatever form or in whatever country it exists, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, and the spirit and precepts of christianity; and is, therefore, a sin against God, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed.

Resolved—That this convention cannot but deeply deplore the fact, that the continuance and prevalence of slavery are to be attributed, in a great degree, to the countenance afforded by many christian churches, especially in the western world; which have not only withheld that public and emphatic testimony against the crime which it deserves, but have retained in their communion, without censure, those by whom it is notoriously perpetrated.

Resolved—That this convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submit that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures; or holding them in slavery a sin by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade.

Resolved—That it be recommended to the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to furnish copies of the above resolutions in the name of the convention to the ecclesiastical authorities of the various christian churches, throughout the world.

The report was received with cheers.

The Rev. J. JOHNSTON, in proposing the adoption of the report, read a letter from Judge Jay, of New York, to J. G. Birnie, Esq., which went of room alone obliges us to omit; and said he was horrified to find that a pretence had been made of scripture sanction for slavery, when the apostle expressly includes “man-slayers and man-stealers” alike in his catalogue of crimes. (Hear, hear.) Let the authorities of the episcopal church discountenance those of her ministers who dared to countenance such a system. (Cheers.) Let the doors of the arch-episcopal palace of Canterbury be closed to the slavery-sanctioning dignitaries of the church that might come from America. (Hear, hear.) He for one would not hold out the right hand of fellowship to the owner of a slave—(loud cheering)—and if his bishop were to enjoin him to do so, he would say, “No, my lord.” (Tremendous cheering.)

J. G. BIRNIE, Esq., begged to state that Judge Jay, the author of the letter just read, was the son of a most illustrious individual of the name, and the friend of Washington, and both father and son had been eminent abolitionists. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. COLVER, in supporting the adoption of the report, said, to extend any species of protection to slave-ownership was to go as far as a slave-owner desired. The vice of slavery was inherent in itself; it was impossible to introduce any essential modifications into slavery. Even the education of slaves was impossible, for enlightenment was incompatible with slavery; with such a system, therefore, there could be no compromise; there must be an unconditional denouncement of its supporters; their entire separation from church fellowship. (Cheers.)

J. STANFIELD, Esq., of Belfast, said that, as a member of the Church of England, he rose with mixed feelings of pleasure at the christian sentiments which had been expressed by Mr. Johnston, and of shame—and, if he might say so, of indignation—against his brethren of the episcopal church of America, for lending their sanction to the abomination of slavery. (Hear, hear.) He was sorry his brethren of the protestant church of Ireland had been so slow in coming forward on this subject. On one occasion he had spoken to a distinguished member of that church at the period of the agitation of the apprenticeship system, and who said he knew nothing of the question, upon which he (Mr. S.) supplied him with documents, on perusing which, he said he had no idea that such crimes could be perpetrated under that system. He thought he had made a convert of him, but a few days after, on waiting on him with a learned friend, to ask him to take part in an anti-slavery meeting, he declined, and on his friend saying, then he supposed he would have the apprenticeship system die a natural death, he answered in the affirmative. Another gentleman of his acquaintance in Ireland admitted slavery to be a bad thing, but because Lord Brougham and Mr. O'Connell had taken part against it, refused to do anything for its abolition. He, therefore, approved of the resolutions being as strong as they could be made, for the



purpose of shaming ministers of the English and American episcopal churches. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. T. BINNEY said he had carefully looked into the Greek Testament since he made the observations which had the misfortune to be so unfavourably received on Saturday, and he was still as much convinced as of any truth in religion, that there were owners of slaves in the primitive churches; but though this was his conviction, he yet held it in connexion with considerations that induced him to give his support to the resolutions. (Cheers.) He believed there were persons in the early christian churches who had two wives, but he did not believe there were officers in those churches who had. The law of Moses was directed to the mitigation of the evil thing, and we were not to draw a sanction of the thing from it. He therefore thought these resolutions took the proper ground, and he should give his support to them. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ROBINSON, of Kettering, and Mr. BRADBURN, of Massachusetts, also intimated that they concurred in the resolutions for the reasons now brought forward.

Mr. HENRY B. STANTON (of New York) said, the convention was composed chiefly of British abolitionists, and the resolutions, though not directly, yet indirectly, would have the effect of turning out of the pale of the church about nine-tenths of his American brethren. He did not say they were about directly to excommunicate, but they were about to take measures, which, if carried out in America, would certainly, unless resistance took place, have that effect. He was aware it might be said they were not a church court; but he would ask were they not to declare what it was the duty of man to do with reference to moral principles? For what did they sit there? To lay the corner-stone of the fabric that slave-holding was a sin against God. He wished the meeting to listen to two or three facts; and, first of all, he would state it was considered in America that two or three questions they had been discussing that morning were entirely settled. The first was, that holding men as a property was under all circumstances sinful. Another question that was settled in America, at least settled so far as impregnable argument could settle it, was, that servitude sanctioned by God did not recognise the right of one man to hold his fellow-man as property. Theodore D. Weld had published an argument on that subject, which the doctors in America had not dared to touch with their heaviest weapons. Another fact they were about settling in America was, that the New Testament gave no sanction to the claim of man over his fellow-man as property. An argument on that subject had just been published by a distinguished gentleman, the president of one of their colleges, and no answer had been attempted to be given to it on the part of any American divine who pretended to hold that slavery was recognized in the New Testament. When he saw that convention about to take measures which would at least throw the American church into a delicate and peculiar predicament, he felt bound to ask his brethren to be aware what they were doing, and that when the American clergy, who had acted in the manner to which he had referred, came to this country, they would not hold out to them the right hand of fellowship. He trusted they were not going in that convention to vote for one thing and do another. He was sorry to say that, in the southern portion of America, slavery had increased to a most enormous extent. (Cheers.) What he wanted was, that the principle, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," should be established in America, and that the ministers of that country, pointing to the downcast and ill-used slave, should exclaim, "That is my brother." (Cheers.) So much for statements. Now for facts. He had no doubt that every person there would denounce the holding of slaves for gain. They might say that holding them for their good would be allowed; but holding them to make money of them was a disgrace to humanity and derogatory to mankind. Now, he would just read a statement to them which would show to what extent professing christians were engaged in actual holding of slaves. The person who gave this evidence was a minister of high standing in the Presbyterian denomination in the south, and had been for many years the stated clerk of a presbytery in Mississippi, and what he stated was this:—"If slavery be a sin, and if advertising and apprehending slaves with a view to restore them to their masters is a direct violation of the divine law, and if the buying, selling, and holding slaves for the sake of gain is a heinous sin and scandal, then verily three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians in eleven States of the Union are of the devil." He would therefore advise those present to be careful what they were about. (Loud laughter.) But he went on to say—"they hold, if they do not buy and sell, slaves; and, with few exceptions, they hesitate not to apprehend and restore runaway slaves when in their power." Such was the statement of a Presbyterian of high rank in the south, and he could refer to several such, but he would pass them by and call the attention of the meeting to the opinions unequivocally avowed by the Charleston and the Carolina Union presbytery. They avowed their opinions as follows:—"That in the opinion of this presbytery the holding of slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in his holy word—(Cries of "Shame,")—that it is in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles—that it is compatible with the most paternal regard to the best good of those servants whom God may have committed to our charge; and that, therefore, those who assume the contrary position, and lay it down as a fundamental principle in morals and religion that slavery is wrong, proceed upon a false principle." He might multiply such extracts as these indefinitely, for there was hardly an ecclesiastical body of any note throughout the slave-holding states which had not repeatedly given its sanction to the system of slavery. But what said the synod of Virginia, which covered the entire of that country? Why, the synod passed a resolution to the following effect:—"Resolved unanimously,"—Unanimously!—"that we consider the dogma fiercely promulgated by the abolitionist associations, that slavery, as it actually exists in our slave-holding states, is necessarily sinful, and ought to be immediately abolished, and the conclusions which naturally follow from that dogma, are directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the word of God." (Hear.) The Edgefield Baptist association in South Carolina had also come to similar resolutions, and they had appointed a day of fasting—not to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, but "to give to our brethren and all others in the north, who are embarked in the unscriptural cause of the abolition of slavery among us, right views of the course

pursued by our Lord and his apostles under a similar state of things when they were upon the earth, in imitation of whose example they should be found, that instead of scattering fire-brands into the southern provinces of the union, and stirring up a servile war, they may endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." (Cries of "Shame, shame.") Surely this was to unite fasting with the deeds of wickedness. He would now read to the meeting some few testimonies from the *Southern Christian Herald*, one of the periodicals of the south. In that paper they were told that at a large meeting assembled in Lancasterville, South Carolina, which was addressed by the Rev. J. H. Thornhill and the Rev. Mr. Carlisle, resolutions were passed to the following effect:—"First, that slavery as it exists in the south is no evil, and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion—(Cries of "shame, shame")—that all opposition to it arises from a misguided and fiendish fanaticism, which we are bound to resist in the very threshold—(Cries of "shame")—that all interference with this subject by fanatics is a violation of our civil and social rights, is unchristian and inhuman, leading necessarily to anarchy and bloodshed; and that the instigators are murderers and assassins." (Shame, shame.) But that was not all. A clergyman of Virginia, one who was bound to teach the principles of "peace and good-will to men," in a letter, in the year, 1835, addressed to the West Hanover Presbytery, concluded it as follows:—"If there be any stray goat of a minister among us, tainted with the bloodhound principle of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, and excommunicated, and left to the public to dispose of in other respects. Your affectionate brother in the Lord, Robert N. Anderson." (Cries of "Shame.") Now, he must say with regard to the latter part of this letter, it had a bloody meaning. The finger that pointed that letter pointed to the use of the bowie knife, or any other weapon of murder. That was in 1835, when violence, and outrage, and blood, were going through the land; that was in the year when Reuben Carrundel went to Columbia, and because an anti-slavery tract was found in his luggage he was imprisoned for eight months. (Cries of "Shame, shame.") His life's blood was taken from him by degrees, consumption seized him, and because he could not visit the south he was obliged to fly to Jamaica, and there seek protection under the shadow of a monarch's throne. The language he had referred to, it was to be remembered, was that of a minister of the gospel, and in his (Mr. Stanton's) opinion it ought to have been written in blood, for it had a bloody meaning. But now with respect to the Methodist clergy, he would read to the meeting the extract of a letter from the Rev. George W. Langhorne, a Methodist minister, to the editor of *Zion's Watchman*, a Methodist anti-slavery paper, published in New York. The rev. gentleman stated as follows:—"I, Sir, would as soon be found in the ranks of a banditti, as numbered with Arthur Tappan and his wanton coadjutors"—that Arthur Tappan, the meeting would allow him to say, whose name was connected with every thing that was noble and philanthropic. (Great cheering.) "Nothing is more appalling to my feelings as a man, contrary to my principles as a christian, and repugnant to my soul as a minister, than the insidious proceedings of such men. If you have not resigned your credentials as a minister of the Methodist episcopal church, I really think that, as an honest man, you should do so at once. In your ordination vows, you solemnly promised to be obedient to those who had the rule over you, and since they have spoken, and that distinctly too, on this subject, and disapprove your conduct, I conceive that you are bound to submit to their authority, or leave the church." Then, at a public meeting, held at Orangeburgh, in South Carolina, in July in the year 1836, which had been called for the purpose of considering what should be done with the copy of *Zion's Watchman* which had been sent to the Rev. J. C. Postell, a member of the South Carolina conference of the Methodist church, that gentleman received an address of the citizens of that place, in which were the following statements:—"From what has been premised, the following conclusions result,—First, that slavery is a judicial visitation. (Laughter.) Secondly, that it is not a moral evil; thirdly, that it is supported by the bible—(Cries of hear, hear.)—fourthly, that it has existed in all ages," and they should have added, so had lying and stealing. (Great laughter.) Then the address went on to say, "it is not a moral evil. The fact that slavery is of Divine appointment—(Cries of "Oh, oh.")—would be proof enough with the christian that it cannot be a moral evil. So far from being a moral evil, it is a merciful visitation—"it is the Lord's doings, and marvellous in our eyes"—(cries of "Shame, shame,")—and had it not been for the best, God alone, who is able, long since would have overruled it. It is by Divine appointment." (Cries of "Shame.") His co-secretary, Mr. Scales, said that that was not true; if he came to America, he thought that he would find it so. (Cheers.) Now to show who this Mr. Postell was, he would read to the meeting a letter addressed by that gentleman to the editor of *Zion's Watchman*. It was as follows:—"Did you calculate, Mr. Sutherland, to misrepresent the Methodist discipline, and say it supported abolitionism, when the general conference, in their late resolutions, denounced it as a libel on truth? O, full of all subtlety! Those children of the devil! "All liars," saith the sacred volume, "shall have their punishment in the lake of fire and brimstone." I can only give one reason why you have not been indicted for libel. The law says, the greater the truth the greater the libel; and as your paper has no such ingredient, it is construed but a small matter. But if you desire to educate the slaves, I will tell you how to raise the money without editing *Zion's Watchman*. You and old Arthur Tappan came out to the south this winter, and they will raise 100,000 dollars for you. New Orleans for herself will be pledged for it. Desiring no further acquaintance with you, and never expecting to see you but once in time or in eternity, which is at judgment, I subscribe myself the friend of the bible, and the opposer of abolitionism.—J. C. Postell." (Cries of "shame, shame.") He then refers to the judgment, and when he comes before the judgment-seat of Christ, and when Christ said to him, "I was hungry, and ye fed me not; I was naked, and ye clothed me not; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; for inasmuch as ye did it not to these, ye did it not to me"—In answer to this he would say, "when saw I thee hungered?" And the answer would be, "you saw it in the down-trodden slave." (Loud cheers.) The treatment of the slaves in America was hard in the extreme, and that treatment, he believed, was enhanced, rather than decreased, by the ministers of the gospel. He had heard that one Baptist minister, when his slave ran away, shot him dead, and another took an



axe, and cut off his fingers. (Cries of "shame, shame.") A third whose slave was accused of stealing sixty dollars, whipped him most severely, and he was found dead the next morning. (Shame.) The book from which he had read teemed with such facts as these, but he would not at the present moment detain the meeting by adverting to them. He must, however, be allowed to detain the meeting a short time, while he read some parts of the resolutions of the harmony presbytery of South Carolina, in order to show how they perverted the scripture. "Resolved,—That slavery has existed from the good old slave-holders and patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, (who are now in the kingdom of heaven,) this was a parenthesis—(Cries of shame, shame,)—"to the time the Apostle Paul sent a runaway slave home to his master Philemon, and wrote a christian and fraternal epistle to this slave-holder, which we find stands in the canon of the scriptures, and that slavery has existed ever since the days of the Apostle, and does now exist. That as the relative duties of master and slave are taught in the scripture, in the same manner as of parent and child, and husband and wife, the existence of slavery itself is not opposed to the will of God; and whoever has a conscience too tender to recognise this relation as lawful, is righteous overmuch, is wise above what is written, and has submitted his neck to the yoke of man—sacrifices his christian liberty of conscience, and leaves the infallible word of God for the fancies and doctrines of men." (Shame, shame.) He would not now stop to read any more of such testimony; it was sufficient for him to say, that he trusted the time had now arrived when a strong rebuke would be given by all religious bodies in this country to those who entertained such doctrines. The abolitionists of this country were held in high estimation in America, and if they would only speak out, he felt convinced that slavery would soon be at an end. (Cheers.) They needed christian rebuke; but above all, they needed from them that when their distinguished clergymen came among the people of this country, they should be told that, until they put away the evil of slavery, the right hand of fellowship would not be held out to them.

Rev. W. Brock, of Norwich, said—We are bound, I think, to respond to Mr. Stanton's appeal, and to make our resolution as decided as possible. (Hear, hear.) In justice to the slave-holders themselves, we should be firm. Not rude, sir, nor offensive, but firm. We should tell them manfully that we deem them wrong. It is not dictation to do this. If a man tells me he thinks I am not a christian, I am not thereby offended, but say, "Prove it, and I will listen to your proof." Now, we submit to the slave-holding churches and ministers that they are sinful—certainly sinful; and we offer to them the proof, as we have to-day. It is a painful duty thus to act; but doing it in kindness, we expect to be candidly heard. (Hear, hear.) Moreover, in justice to the abolitionists, we should be firm. Shall we, sir, treat the men who buy and sell, and murder their fellow-men, as we treat those who regard them as brethren? Shall we behave to Calhoun as we behave to Garrison? (Hear, hear.) Shall we, when Americans come to our land, welcome them to our pulpits and our sacramental tables without inquiring concerning their views of abolition? (Loud cheers.) No, sir, Breckenridge shall not be to us what Colver is. (Cheers.) The latter, with all who act with him, shall be always welcome. The former, never. This we say for the encouragement of our brethren from America. We all say this—(Loud and general cheering)—and we desire it to go forth as the determination of the christians of Great Britain. We will not welcome to our pulpits or our sacraments any man, however talented, who is not an out-spoken abolitionist, not only here, but at home. (Great cheering.)

After a short discussion, in which Mr. Josiah Forster, the Rev. Thos. Swan, and Mr. Fewster suggested several amendments.

The Rev. Dr. Cox concurred most heartily with the resolution. He had not always gone to the full extent of the opinion which now led him to this full concurrence but deep reflection—repeated reflection upon the subject, had brought him to the conclusion at which he had now arrived. (Great cheering.) Having come to that conclusion, he felt it his duty to take the first opportunity of stating it, and he was sure that the gentlemen of that convention, knowing how he had been situated—knowing that he had gone to America as a delegate, from a society different, however, in its special purpose from that which constituted this convention, and knowing also how he had been situated there, he was sure that they would feel that he was not obtruding when he stated that he fully and heartily concurred with every sentiment and word contained in the proposition which had now been introduced to the meeting. (Great cheering.)

The resolution, with the amendments added, were then put by the chairman to the meeting, and carried unanimously.—The convention then adjourned.

(To be continued.)

### Advertisements.

#### PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a

greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negroes behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

#### COMMITTEE.

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Baptist Missionary Society's Office, Fen-court, Fenchurch-street.  
J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, or by any of the Members of the Committee, and by

HENRY STERRY, Sec.  
42, Trinity Square, Borough.

AT A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE FALMOUTH SOCIETY, FOR THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, Convened at the particular request of its officers, and held at the baptist chapel in this town last Wednesday, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted. Moved by the Rev. W. Dendy, and seconded by the Rev. B. B. Dexter.

That the Rev. T. F. Abbott be requested to preside on this occasion. The chair was then taken by Mr. Abbott.

Moved by the Rev. B. B. Dexter, and seconded by the Rev. John Clark.

I. That this meeting desires to repeat and record its thanks to Almighty God, the sovereign ruler and supreme governor of the universe, for the great measure of tranquillity and prosperity with which he hath graciously favoured this lovely island, more particularly since the complete emancipation of 300,000 of her people from unrighteous bondage.

Moved by the Rev. E. J. Francies, and seconded by Mr. Richard Brown.

II. That this meeting deeply regrets the appointment of a governor to this island who should have hazarded such opinions as are expressed in the dispatch of his excellency Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe to the colonial secretary, bearing date 16th October, 1839, before he could have had reasonable time to have formed any correct idea of the state and conflicting views of the different parties over whom he is appointed to rule; and that it considers his censures on the labouring population and on their esteemed ministers, the baptist missionaries, are founded only on prejudice, injustice, and party bias.

Moved by the Rev. H. J. Dutton, and seconded by Mr. John White.

III. That in consequence of the singular and extraordinary despatch of his Excellency the governor having been written within, or about, three weeks after his arrival, and before his Excellency had the opportunity of obtaining any knowledge whatever of the character and conduct of the labouring population generally, or of the denomination in particular to which they are attached, but in which his Excellency has been pleased to heap wholesale odium upon them, and on the baptist missionaries,—it is the opinion of this meeting, that his Excellency, by throwing the whole weight of his official station into the oppressor's scale, has not only retarded the progress of that liberty which was purchased at so costly a price by the British Parliament, but has also awakened such distrust and suspicion that this meeting cannot have any confidence in the administration of his Excellency, Sir C. T. Metcalfe.

Moved by the Rev. T. E. Ward, and seconded by Mr. Andrew Dickson.

IV. That this meeting considers the attempt to do away with the stipendiary agistrates, together with the oppressive acts recently passed by the legislature and sanctioned by the governor, fraught with evil to the best interests of this colony, and that every proper and constitutional means should be resorted to of counteracting such invidious and injurious attempts.

Moved by the Rev. W. Dendy, and seconded by Mr. John Wallace.

V. That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the chairman, be forwarded severally to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's secretary of state for the colonial department; to his Excellency Sir Lionel Smith; to his Excellency Sir Charles T. Metcalfe; to the Rev. John Dyer, secretary to the baptist missionary society; and to the Rev. William Knibb, treasurer of this society, at present representing its interests in Great Britain; and that they be twice published in the Baptist Herald, the Colonial Reformer, the Patriot, and the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Printed by WILLIAM JOHNSTON, and RICHARD BARRETT, of 13, Mark Lane, in the Parish of All Hallows Staining, and City of London: and Published by LANCELOT WILD, of 13, Catherine Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine Street, Strand, aforesaid.—July 15th, 1840.